HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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MINNESOTA FEB 3 1966

It Will, If LBJ Has His Way

Will the Government Control the Sale of Your House?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

In his State of the Union address the President proposed three civil rights measures of profound importance. The first has to do with jury selection, the second with the creation of certain new federal crimes. This is the third:

"I propose," said Mr. Johnson, "legislation resting on the fullest constitutional authority of the federal government, to prohibit racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing."

It is useful to remark, in passing, upon the President's careful choice of words. He implicitly recognizes, or so it would appear, that he has raised a grave question of law: Just how full is this "fullest constitutional authority of the federal government" in the sale or rental of housing? What power does the Congress have to pass a law regulating any of the terms and conditions by which a man sells or rents his own home?

In the conservative view, the answer is plain: The Congress has no power whatever in this field. But it may be that many liberals share this view also, for here the President creeps up on a massive invasion of personal rights that liberals have cherished no less than conservatives.

This is a far different matter from "public accommodations." In writing Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Congress had at least an arguable rationale under the commerce clause. Thus the Heart of Atlanta Motel could not discriminate against tourists traveling in interstate commerce; and Ollie's Barbecue in Birmingham could not pursue a policy that, cumulatively, would affect the sale of beef and pork from Missouri. The legal reasoning behind the "equal opportunity" section of the 1964 act extends the theory of wage and hour legislation under the commerce clause.

The mind boggles, however, at the thought that the commerce clause might somehow be invoked to prevent discrimination in the sale of a house. There may be a national commerce in tourists, and a national commerce in meat, and even a national market in labor, but the sale of a house is about as local as commerce can get.

It would require a fantastic revolution in the law to hold that because bricks, wires, pipes, nails and shingles move in interstate commerce, the sale of a private dwelling house therefore becomes subject to federal regulation.

A more likely approach would extend the thinking behind President Kennedy's famous Executive Order of Nov. 20, 1962. This undertook to prohibit racial discrimination in the sale, rental, use or occupancy of four classes of housing. These included 1. housing owned or operated by the federal government; 2. housing provided "in whole or in part with the aid of loans, advances, grants or contributions made by the federal government"; 3. housing provided "in whole or in part by loans insured or guaranteed" by federal agencies; and 4. housing provided as a result of federally subsidized slum clearance or urban renewal projects.

The Executive Order of 1962 exempted the sale of private homes under conventional financing. It stopped short of controlling ordinary loans by banks and by savings and loan associations. Now the assumption is that Mr. Johnson's new bill will seek to extend the theory of the Kennedy executive order, by outright legislation, to any financing touched by federal deposit insurance or by general federal regulation.

Can so remote and tenuous a federal interest be converted into an operative federal power to compel the integration of apartment houses and neighborhoods? A great many constitutional authorities doubt that any provision of the Constitution can be stretched to this extent.

While much of the Kennedy order may be defensible under the power of Congress to regulate federal grants and loans, the 1962 order remains subject to attack as an executive invasion of the legislative power. Remarkably, the 1962 order never has undergone full-scale judicial review.

The heavy hand of the federal government will reach even further into the private realm, if LBJ can go so far as to apply federal deposit insurance regulations to the sale of private property.

Mr. Johnson now proposes a statute, not a further executive order, but any federal law that attempts to link mere deposit insurance to the sale of private property will set off an explosive controversy. Even those persons most sympathetic to the needs and aspirations of the Negro may want to hesitate before embracing this concept.

It has been settled since *Buchanan v. Warley*, in 1917, that no power of government can prevent a man from selling his house to a Negro buyer if he wishes. The landmark case of *Shelly v. Kraemer* merely reinforced this rule. These were wise decisions, in the purest tradition of private property rights. What is now proposed is to turn this doctrine around, and to invoke the powers of government to compel a man to sell his house to a Negro buyer against his wishes.

Granted, this is not a novel idea. A score of states have adopted "open occupancy" housing laws to this general effect. But these are state laws, resting upon a different constitutional basis. A federal law involves other powers, sets other precedents, and opens very different doors to federal control over the decisions of Americans everywhere.

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Will the Real Budget Please Stand Up?

An analysis of what LBJ is planning to spend in fiscal 1967

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Johnson's Big-City Power Grab

The President's plan to control the rebuilding of entire urban areas could be the death knell for local government.

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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LBJ's 'Help Hubert' Campaign

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Helping Hubert is the name of our latest national policy.

From relative obscurity and dubious popularity, Vice President Hubert Horatio Humphrey suddenly is being thrust in the limelight. The full machinery of Lyndon Johnson's government is grinding out assistance.

Just a few months ago, if anyone had dared suggest that there was more than one federal employe—LBJ—in Washington, the anger of the White House would crackle and thunder. Humphrey was permitted to play the role of a messenger boy, but little more. It was LBJ all the way.

What has changed? The polls, for one thing. When they change it is more meaningful in the White House than any other form of natural disaster. This Administration reacts to personal popularity polls the way American Indians used to react to eclipses of the sun.

The Gallup Poll (which plays the role of associate court wizard for this Administration) recently checked the public on its feelings about Humphrey. Along with the usual reaction of "Who's that?" the poll revealed the unmistakable fact that Hubert wasn't "laying them in the aisles," as the old vaudeville saying used to go.

The President has been boosting Hubert Humphrey (above) in an attempt to cut down Bobby Kennedy's popularity.

More disturbing than that was the same poll's revelation of the gain in popularity for Bobby Kennedy, whom this Administration ranks just a bit below the bubonic plague, but above athlete's foot as a curse on mankind.

Now, Mr. Johnson seems perfectly prepared to put up with a lot of guff from a lot of people, from Ho Chi Minh to Chicago's Mayor Daley, but he is scarcely prepared, the evidence indicates, to put up with popularity for Bobby Kennedy. Couple this with persistent talk that Bobby might try to maneuver himself into the vice presidency for 1968, and there is a clear call for all-out, nuclear if necessary, warfare so far as the President is concerned.

Thus was born Operation Help Hubert, the most valiant rescue effort since the evacuation of Dunkirk.

One of the first moves was to release Humphrey's press secretary. The operation apparently needed someone in charge who would keep in mind that the only thing more important than helping Hubert is to never really do it by upstaging The Boss himself.

Next came the assignment of the vice president to his mission in Asia. This got him on the front page, from which he had previously been banned. It also gave him a job to do in which, if any success appeared, the President still could claim full credit, but in which failure could be easily covered over.

More impressive than the trip abroad, however, are the small signs of Operation Help Hubert. Prior to Help Hubert Month, the calendar could slide away week after week without a picture of the vice president doing anything more impressive than grinning at the President. Such high-level publicity activities as posing with children or prime ministers were reserved for the Star of the Show. But now the vice president also beams at us in the company of little children and big shots.

So long as Bobby Kennedy casts a shadow across the White House's happiness, we can expect Operation Help Hubert to remain in high gear.

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Sen. Williams Hits Callanan Contributions

Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) recently brought to the attention of his colleagues the strange case of Thomas Callanan, a union leader convicted in 1964 of a labor shakedown.

Callanan was paroled in 1960 and on April 9, 1964, the Internal Revenue Service settled a $40,219 tax liability with him for $17,000. An IRS spokesman said that Callanan was earning only $150 a week as a steam fitter and said there were "no prospects of any material increase" in his income. And later that month, President Johnson commuted the Callanan sentence, thereby removing the legal blocks which restricted Callanan's union activities.

Callanan then turned around and contributed $1,000 each to the Democratic National Committee and the "Friends of LBJ," the latter a special fund-raising committee run out of the law offices of Abe Fortas, who was later named to the Supreme Court by Johnson.

Seven months after the commutation of Callanan's sentence, the business manager of Callanan's local, John A. Lawler, contributed $25,000 to the LBJ kitty. Federal law prohibits contributions of more than $5,000 by any individual to any political organization, Williams noted.

The Delaware solon praised the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* for its stories on Callanan contributions and recalled the case of Jake (The Barber) Factor. Factor and his wife contributed $20,000 to the Kennedy-Johnson campaign in 1960 and he later received a presidential parole.

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CIA Director Raborn Is Under Double Attack

Soviets, of course, are after him, but so are some agency 'insiders' who don't like his frank opposition to appeasing Russia.

From the Allen-Scott Report

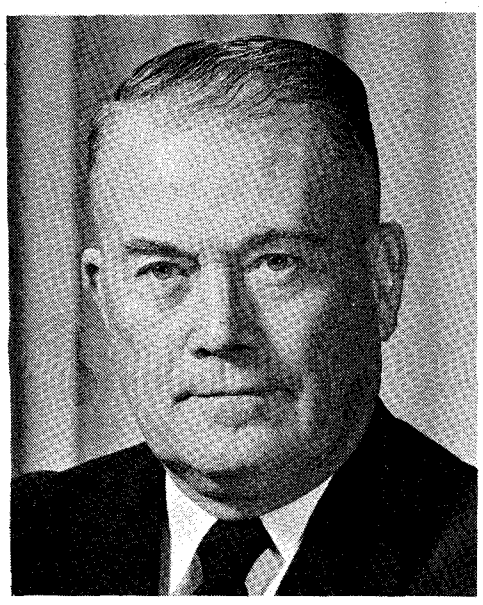
Central Intelligence Director William Raborn is being virulently attacked from both within and outside the huge agency—by some strange bedfellows.

One of these smear campaigns, which involves the circulation of forged documents and planted anti-CIA press reports overseas, is being masterminded by the KGB, the Soviet secret police.

These propaganda operations are part of a long-range scheme to discredit the CIA's worldwide covert activities, and to try to force Adm. Raborn out of office. The immediate KGB objective is to dry up sources which are giving the CIA advance information on the Kremlin's machinations to foment "wars of liberation" in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Illustrative of the scope, nature and success of the CIA's covert operations was the infiltration of its agents at the recent Tri-Continent Revolutionary Conference in Havana.

At the Cuban meeting, Reds from Africa and Latin America called for



Raborn has strong congressional support—but also a few detractors.

the destruction or withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic.

The other attack against Raborn is from the rear. Congressional supporters of the Navy veteran deem it as sinister as the other.

These CIA "insiders" are credited with strongly disagreeing with his hard-nosed opposition to making concessions to Russia, and his firm insistence on obtaining "all intelligence" regardless of whether it facilitates friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet.

This inner CIA attack on Raborn is currently manifesting itself in "leaked" stories to columnists and magazines.

The usual tenor of these "plants" is that while Raborn did an outstanding job in directing the Navy's Polaris missile program, he doesn't know how to boss or control the CIA.

According to congressional sources, these anti-Raborn officials, in an effort to embarrass him, are endeavoring to get the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to hold hearings on the CIA's impact on foreign policy.

Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) has asked Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman, to initiate a CIA probe. Fulbright is considering the matter.

Should Fulbright reject the proposal, it is McCarthy's intention to sponsor a resolution authorizing such an investigation by a special committee. This would have to be voted on by the full Senate.

Congressional friends of Raborn attribute some of his difficulties with long-time career CIA employes to his setting up around-the-clock watch officers to keep him constantly informed of Russian and Chinese covert operations. This highly sensitive check system was put into effect when Raborn learned that either important intelligence was not sent to him or delivery was delayed for days.

Under the new arrangement, he is briefed "before 7:00 a.m.," and conveys essential information to President Johnson immediately after he awakens.

The President, who personally selected Raborn, thoroughly approves the way he is functioning and is giving him his full support.

Efforts to label Raborn as inexperienced and ineffective are brushed off by the President. He is telling critics that his confidence in Raborn's ability has grown since he became head of CIA.

Raborn has strong support in Congress, led by Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.). These legislators are particularly impressed by Raborn's routing CIA officials out of bed with early-morning calls about urgent developments in their areas.

Adm. Raborn also is trying to keep the CIA's super-secret intelligence estimate division on its toes by making this closed shop justify its special reports before they are circulated as official documents.

"If Raborn can help it, no CIA estimate will contain any of those fancy, preconceived ideas as in the past," one informed legislator said. "He has guts and brains, and all he wants from his staff are the facts and nothing but the facts."

Also highly regarded by Administration authorities are Raborn's harmonious relations with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. They work closely and smoothly together.

They have one thing very much in common. The Soviet's KGB is out to discredit both and to drive them from office. Hoover is first on KGB's list. Raborn is second.

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How I earned my first big money after I "retired"

* * * * * * *

For years I looked forward to release from the old nine-to-five grind. Then, as the time for retirement drew near, I began to worry.

Could I really be happy just fishing for the rest of my days? And would my wife and I really be content to scrimp along on our modest savings and benefits?

So I did a little advance planning. I had always had an outsider's interest in the real estate business. I had seen that real estate men made a good living even while enjoying flexible hours and freedom from strenuous routine. Couldn't I do the same thing?

I decided I would try. While still at my old job, I enrolled in LaSalle's course in Real Estate Practice. It took just a few of my evening hours at home each week. By retirement day, I had completed my studies, with a LaSalle diploma to show for it. I had no trouble finding a part-time job with one of the better real estate agencies in town.

Then came the surprise. My LaSalle training had taught me much more than the simple knowledge customarily needed to pass the examination for a broker's license.

That was why, after some early success in selling neighborhood homes (my first commission repaid the price of my course several times), I found my know-how in demand in many more areas — in the sale and management of commercial properties, in property appraisals, in arranging for financing, in selecting sites for industrial buildings, in land development. Today I have my own sales and consulting service in all branches of real estate, with my wife happily pitching in.

Yes, I got more than I bargained for. I'm more occupied than I expected to be after my so-called retirement, but I'm having the time of my life, I'm making more money than I ever did and I'm a somebody in this town. What's more, I *still* have time for fishing!

* * * * *

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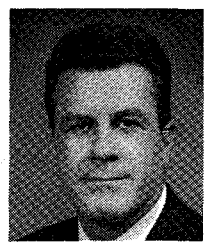
CAPITOL CAMERA

• The latest California polls show that Ronald Reagan is not only widening his lead among candidates for the Republican gubernatorial nomination, but that he is also favored to defeat incumbent Pat Brown. The polls, published in the Los Angeles *Times*, showed Reagan with a comfortable lead over GOP competitors George Christopher and Goodwin Knight. Both Christopher and Knight would also defeat Brown, the polls disclosed.

REAGAN

• *A Soviet defector, who has asked not to be identified, has supported the theory of U.S. intelligence experts that Newcomb Mott, an American tourist imprisoned by the Soviets for a minor border violation, did not commit suicide as the Soviets claim. The Soviet autopsy report said Mott killed himself by cutting his throat in the washroom of a train taking him to a labor camp to serve out a harsh 18-month sentence. In a written statement, the defector, who spent nearly 20 years in Siberian prison and labor camps, said prisoners are so closely watched that guards are even sent with them on trips to the toilet. Under normal procedure, he said, it would have been "virtually impossible for the American to cut his throat . . . . It was absolutely impossible for Mott to go to the washroom alone and to escape attention of the guards."*

• Republicans in South Carolina have still not given up hope of capturing three top political offices in 1966—the governorship and both seats in the U.S. Senate. Sen. Strom Thurmond, who crossed over to the Republican side of the aisle in 1964, is expected to be reelected; Rep. Albert Watson, another Democrat-turned-Republican, is still seriously thinking of running for the other Senate seat now held by Democrat Donald Russell, who had himself appointed senator after the death of Olin Johnston. Gen. Mark Clark, who retired as head of the Citadel, is the GOP hope for governor. Though he has indicated he wouldn't run, state Republicans still feel he may come through.



WATSON

• *The Soviet U.N. diplomat exposed recently as an intelligence operative (see* Human Events, *January 22, page 5), has quietly packed his bags and returned home. Vadim Isakov, a $16,000-a-year UNICEF official, was shown by Hearst Headline Service to be an agent of Soviet military intelligence with instructions to purchase restricted missile components in the United States.*

• Rep. James Fulton (R.-Pa.), who votes consistently with the Democrats in Congress, is being accused by both Democrats and Republicans of "news management." It seems that Fulton, who is from the Pittsburgh area, owns seven suburban newspapers which try to undercut any potential opposition to the congressman. For example, Pennsylvanians are complaining that prominent Republican or Democratic officials are hardly ever seen in the paper. Fulton "has gone so far as to establish a policy where the children of local politicans are snipped out of photographs if this can be achieved." Fulton is faced with opposition in the primary this year.

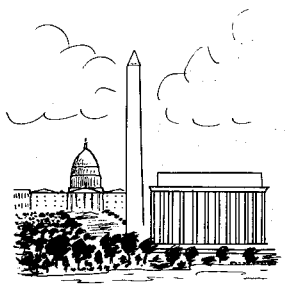
FULTON

• *Overheard: Mrs. Mike Mansfield, wife of the Senate majority leader, saying her husband had found our soldiers lacking the military wherewithal to fight the enemy in Viet Nam. Interestingly enough, Mansfield left this out of his now famous report.*

This Week in Washington

Assault on the Cities

Though the public may not be aware of it, Lyndon Johnson has launched one of the most brazen attacks on the system of liberty and local government ever launched by an American President. In a startling message to Congress last week, the President unveiled a bewildering array of plans and programs, which, if passed by Congress, would wipe out local government as we know it and make our independent cities, in which over two-thirds of the population presently reside, into impotent wards of Washington, D.C.



Indeed, the President's plans, as outlined to Congress, would have federal bureaucrats designing every nook and cranny of America's urban areas, with only the faintest nod to be given to local authorities. The bureaucrats, too, would be able to carry out what federal planners are calling "social" renewal as well as urban renewal. Compulsory religious and racial integration would seem to be part of the President's goals.

Rep. Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.), House minority leader, immediately attacked the proposals as "riddled with strong signs of Potomac political paternalism."

He further said he doubted the President's claim the program was "within our resources" because of what Ford called the "staggering cost to the nation" of the war in Viet Nam.

Here is what the President's explosive message envisions for the American citizen:

• A $2.3-billion, six-year program of so-called slum neighborhood revitalization, both physical and social. (This sum, by the way, is not included in the federal budget.) The chief mechanism for accomplishing this objective will be the "Demonstration Cities Program" under which 60 to 70 cities of assorted sizes will receive massive infusions of federal aid. The cities selected would have to meet new requirements to prove they were "qualified" to use the federal funds. Furthermore, once the city had been chosen to receive the money, a federal coordinator would be dispatched to help organize and supervise the city "rehabilitation." This "coordinator" would be empowered not only to help the cities carry out the federal plan, but also to keep a close eye on the way the funds are spent.

• Other "demonstration" projects to encourage comprehensive metropolitan planning. This program is estimated at $6.5 million a year.

• A law to ban racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. "The impacted racial ghetto, said Johnson, "will become a thing of the past only when the Negro American can move his family wherever he can afford to do so." (See cover story.)

• Increased federal aid to encourage planning and construction of "new towns"—separate satellite cities lying outside of major metropolitan areas. These would be designed to absorb at least part of the 3 million new residents that are added each year to the present urban population, for whom there is supposedly little room left in the central city.

• Spending $30 million for the controversial rent-supplement program.

The key part of the program, however—and certainly the most controversial proposal—is the Demonstration Cities Program, which originated with the President's special study group on urban affairs, headed by the new under secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Dr. Robert C. Wood.

Under the plan, cities will first be invited to apply for demonstration grants to see if they have the "will" to carry out the rehabilitation program. If approved, the federal government will then give that city "planning funds." Next, the cities will draw up detailed plans themselves, but they are to be examined and judged on the basis of 14 basic requirements that Johnson outlined in his message. These basic 14 requirements assure total federal control over the cities. Among the most important:

• The demonstration should "be of sufficient magnitude both in its physical and social dimensions to arrest blight and decay in entire neighborhoods."

• The demonstration should bring about a change "in the total environment of the area affected. It must provide schools, parks, playgrounds, community centers and access to all necessary community facilities"—all, of course, to be supervised by a federal coordinator.

• Building codes will have to meet standards of federal bureaucrats.

• The demonstration must be designed to contribute to narrowing the housing gap between the "deprived" (federally determined) and the rest of the community. "Major additions must be made to the sound dwellings."

Will Congress and the cities go along with such a program? Even though the Johnson plan is an obvious federal power grab, LBJ is offering some strong bait: large infusions of "free" federal money.

As things stand today, a wide variety of federal programs involving the Departments of Housing and Urban Development and Health, Education and Welfare require the states to put up matching funds. Under the Johnson proposal, the local cost of any of these programs will be reduced by *four-fifths* to demonstration cities, while those cities which choose to stay outside the target area will still have to pay the same monthly amount they do now.

Thus, Johnson is using both bait and blackmail to compel cities to accept federal funds. Once they do, their independence from federal dictation will be destroyed.

LBJ's Bomb Pause

"A chief reason President Johnson is unable to pursue the war in Viet Nam with vigor," remarked one military expert last week, "is that he is too absorbed with consensus—pleasing world opinion, pleasing the Americans for Democratic Action, pleasing Senators Mansfield and Fulbright and others. Politics, not military strategy, appear to be the rule of the day.

"It's incredible," he continued, "that we have allowed the pause in bombing [which is supposed to resume momentarily] to continue for a month. Secretary McNamara, who pushed for the bombing pause, has already admitted that the lull is permitting the Reds to rebuild their military strength and pour new troops into the South. The Communists called two truces and violated both of them from the very beginning. Surely we could have won 'world opinion' at less cost militarily.

"And look what the 'peace offensive' has done to our relations with the Saigon government. The pause almost triggered a coup because some of the Saigon military leaders somehow thought Ky had approved a political arrangement leaving the South at the mercy of the Viet Cong."

These sentiments of a highly informed military observer have been repeated often by seasoned diplomatic and military experts in recent weeks.

It is now known, for example, that the Communists have used the bombing lull to install 500 additional anti-aircraft weapons in the crucial Hanoi-Haiphong area. An Air Force report to the Senate Armed Services Committee estimates there are now more than 20,000 anti-aircraft guns and missiles in Viet Nam.

A veteran reporter on Southeast Asian affairs, Joseph Alsop, wrote from Saigon last week that the pause had been disastrous in every way—militarily, politically and psychologically. Noted Alsop:

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"On the one hand there is the practical loss. Almost without cease since last March, at great peril and cost to the pilots doing the jobs, the lines of communication in North Viet Nam have been hammered by American air attacks. . . . .

"By sheer accumulation of damage and disruption of internal communication and steadily mounting demands for manpower for urgent repairs, the bombing was at least beginning to exert heavy pressure on the whole northern structure. The pause for the peace offensive has allowed all the worst damage to be repaired, new defenses to be moved into place and huge forward stockages to be built up for added pressure on the South. Thus most of the fruits of the hard effort of the last eight months have now been thrown away."

Worse still, said Alsop, are the effects on morale—both in the North and in the South. It is a truism, he states, that just as the South Vietnamese build their hopes on confidence in America's strength and will to resist Red aggression, so the North Vietnamese build all their hopes on the belief that America lacks the strength of will to resist.

"Every Vietnamese expert in the service of the U.S. government agrees on this point. Every sign indicates that the peace offensive has strongly bolstered this North Vietnamese belief that they can count on victory in the end, because the United States is basically weak-willed."

In short, though Alsop doesn't quite say it, the Administration's "peace offensive" has given at least as much psychological "lift" to the Communists as the peace demonstrations which it denounces for lulling the Reds into a false sense of hope.

Alsop continued: "[The North Vietnamese] main response to the peace offensive has been to push into South Viet Nam, with much aid from the bombing pause, more and more of North Vietnamese regular troops. So many are now present in the South that they add up to a major invasion."

It is said, remarked Alsop, that all the President's senior advisers concurred in the peace offensive, "no doubt on domestic, political and 'world opinion' grounds. . . .

"But when the country is at war with 200,000 troops in the field, the only serious consideration should be the gains and losses in the war. And as far as the war is concerned, the balance sheet shows no gain and much loss."

Union Members Like R-T-W

Here's why Democrats don't believe they can get Congress to scrap right-to-work: A poll released January 31 by the much respected Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, N.J., shows that 64 per cent of the public favor retention of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. Even a majority of union members and families who answered the poll oppose its repeal. The poll also disclosed:

• Over 75 per cent of the American public believe that an employer should not be permitted to fire a worker because he won't join a union.

• Approximately 70 per cent of the American people say they would vote for a right-to-work law which would apply to their own state.

• Over 67 per cent feel that even though a worker might benefit from a union, he still should not have to join it.

Demo Appeasement Corps

One reason LBJ is not pursuing a "win" policy in Viet Nam is that the Democratic "appeasement apparatus" in the Senate continues to pressure LBJ into taking soft postures toward the Communists. Heading the Senate softs are Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who, it is said, has actually been maneuvering to get Marxist Staughton Lynd to speak before his committee.

(Lynd, who recently denounced America in Hanoi after visiting with Communist leaders in violation of U.S. law, has been in Washington trying to get Congress to listen to him. Democratic Sen. Frank Lausche, a member of the committee, has felt impelled to make several statements urging Foreign Relations Committee members not to give Lynd any forum.)

Last week, both Mansfield and Fulbright came out against resumption of any further bombing. Fulbright said it should be suspended for "the foreseeable future"; Mansfield said he would like the lull to last "indefinitely."

Another group of 15 Democratic senators signed a letter to the President last week urging him to continue the pause in bombing. These senators were: Eugene McCarthy (Minn.), E. L. Bartlett (Alaska), Lee Metcalf (Mont.), Vance Hartke (Ind.), Maurine B. Neuberger (Ore.), Frank Church (Idaho), Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.), William Proxmire (Wis.), Stephen M. Young (Ohio), Ernest Gruening (Alaska), Joseph Clark (Pa.), Wayne Morse (Ore.), Gaylord Nelson (Wis.), George McGovern (S.D.), and Harrison Williams (N.J.). Bartlett and Metcalf are up for re-election this year.

McGee's Flip-Flop

Sen. Gale W. McGee, the super-liberal Democratic professor from Wyoming, has, it seems, reverted to type. While he initially made his reputation in the Senate as one who preached conciliation with communism, in February 1965 Mr. McGee underwent a startling metamorphosis, turning from an ugly doveling into a beautiful hawk.

Indeed, in a sharp debate February 17 with Sen. Frank Church, one of the cooingest doves in the Senate, McGee grew belligerent and talked about delivering ultimatums to North Viet Nam and Communist China unless they stopped harassing South Viet Nam. Wouldn't this risk war with China? Sure, but McGee manfully said he would take that chance. Better take the chance now than when China becomes an atomic power, he said. At one point he claimed that America must draw "a firm line along the 17th parallel"—the dividing line between North and South Viet Nam—"making it clear that the 17th parallel and the land below it are not negotiable."

Few believed their ears. Was this the real McGee? *Human Events*, of course, was surprised, but to spur him on to better things a member of our staff wrote the senator an encouraging note: "In the past our magazine has been one of your severest critics, and I suppose we will have some unkind things to say about you in the future, but for the present I would like to commend you. . . . Your debate was . . . a superb performance. . . . So good was your speech and so anti-Communist in tone that I fear you may end up on a card in Group Research, Inc. . . . I hope that praise from quarters you might consider suspect won't prevent you from making future speeches of this kind." The staff member received no reply.

Last week—January 26 to be specific—McGee started publicly discarding his hawkism.

He inserted into the *Congressional Record* a column by Walter Lippmann which praised Gen. Gavin's statement to *Harper's* magazine urging America to stop bombing North Viet Nam in order to avoid risking a war with China, withdraw its forces to the coastal bases of South Viet Nam "and seek to find a solution through the United Nations or a conference in Geneva. . . ."

The headline McGee decided to put above the article in the *Record* was "Formula for Liquidating A Mistake." He introduced it by saying that in recent months Lippmann, who has been urging us to write off Viet Nam, "has been conspicuous for the sanity and soundness of his views on the U.S. military involvement in Viet Nam and Southeast Asia."

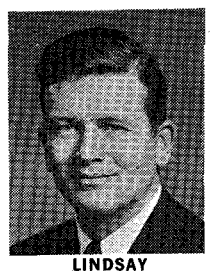
The moral: You can't change a dove into a hawk but you can make him into an ostrich.

Conservatives Can Win in November!

The liberals say so. They've already begun to mobilize their troops for the tough battle ahead. The AFL-CIO is whipping up enthusiasm with scare headlines like this: 'Major Campaign Effort Called Vital to Hold Liberal Edge in Congress.' Conservatives can take heart because their chances are good; but they should also take a lesson from the liberals: The way to win in November is to start campaigning now. Human Events **readers are urged to join the fight by enrolling in the MISSION '66 Political Action Program** **(see page 7).**

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Councilman Theodore R. Kupferman, the Lindsay-backed candidate for the mayor's vacated seat in New York's 17th Congressional District, seems to be no different from Lindsay: Like his Democratic opponent Orrin Lehman, Kupferman would like to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and repeal Taft-Hartley's right-to-work clause and he opposes resumption of bombing in North Viet Nam.


LINDSAY

• *Sensitive to criticism, the Job Corps has now clamped down on publication of figures showing the number of dropouts from the Job Corps' schools for dropouts. Franklyn A. Johnson, director of the year-old-agency, has restricted issuance of these figures to once every three months, whereas they were previously readily available.*

• Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara has again postponed work on an anti-missile defense network, asserting that Red China will not be a nuclear threat for at least a decade. There is one flaw in McNamara's theory: The Soviet Union is now a nuclear threat and has been for some time. The Soviets, moreover, have installed an anti-missile system around at least one major city and are hard at work on the project.

Mc NAMARA

• *Dramatist LeRoi Jones, whose Black Arts Repertory Theatre in Harlem received a federal anti-poverty grant, recently predicted the eventual disappearance of the white man over WPIX television in New York. After likening the whites to a cancer that must be removed, he said it wouldn't be a bad idea to start "killing them away." "Yes," he responded to a question by host David Susskind, "killing them away would work, definitely."*

• Rep. Frank T. Bow (R.-Ohio) has sharply rapped the Job Corps for investing $370,000 in 30,000 brass-buttoned blazers for its enrollees. The Job Corps has defended purchase of the jackets—which sport a fancy emblem on the pocket—as "morale building." Bow scoffed at the explanation, asserting: "It is typical of the extravagance in the Job Corps that while the boys in Viet Nam are short on soap and writing paper the anti-poverty program is spending $12.35 each on these jackets."

BOW

• *Viet Cong terrorists made a mockery of the cease-fire that marked the recent Lunar New Year. During that week, the Viet Cong murdered 99 Vietnamese civilian officials or government sympathizers. Another 38 civilians were killed indiscriminately. These attacks are part of a "calculated campaign against any Vietnamese citizens who dare to take a position of responsibility under the government, from the neighborhood level on up," writes Ernest Furgurson in the Baltimore* Sun.

• When Nelson Rockefeller was first elected governor of New York in 1958, he named as his press secretary Robert McManus, a registered Democrat who had held the post under the man Rocky defeated, Democrat Averell Harriman. Rockefeller recently promoted McManus, naming him his executive assistant. To replace McManus in the $30,000-a-year post, Rocky recently picked Leslie Slote, another Democrat who was until November press secretary to New York Mayor Robert Wagner.

ROCKEFELLER

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Tri-Continental Conference in Havana

Communists Plan New Revolutionary Activity Around the Globe

Less than 100 miles away from U.S. shores, the Communists have been plotting the destruction of the free world. The plans were laid out at an extraordinary Tri-Continental Conference the Communists held in the Hotel Libre in Havana, January 3 to January 15. Seasoned anti-Communist observers stress the Soviet-organized conclave, attended by revolutionaries from 82 countries, spells serious dangers for America in the near future.

The key conference decision: to step up violent revolutionary activities around the globe—particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America—and bring destruction to all who stand in communism's way.

Through machinery established at the conference, Communist arms, money, propaganda and guerrillas will now flow out of Cuba on a permanent basis to every continent and country where the Communists feel they can make trouble for the United States and its allies. The Communists hope that by igniting revolutions all over the globe the free world will have to divert its attention and resources from Viet Nam.

The heart of the Cuban operation will be a 12-nation directorate operating under the title: "Committee for Assistance and Aid to the National Liberation and Fighting Movements Against Colonialism and Neocolonialism." Both Russia and Red China are members of this committee.

In addition, three other organizations were set up: the Secretariat of the Asian, African, Latin-American Peoples Solidarity Organization; the Latin-American Solidarity Organization; and the Tri-Continental Committee to aid Viet Nam. (The press chose to play up the surface differences between the Soviets and the Red Chinese which cropped up during the meeting, almost ignoring the essential fact that both ended up praising the tactics of the conferences.)

U.S. News and World Report, which has reporters in Havana, gave this account of how the Communists will function:

"The 12-nation committee, operating through the new Communist headquarters in Havana, is not to limit its activities to Latin America.

"Among the specific duties assigned to it are these:

• "Establish closer co-ordination between so-called 'liberation movements' everywhere so that, in time, joint operations can be set off in several countries simultaneously.

• "Set up direct communications between Havana headquarters and the leaders of guerrilla movements in other countries.

• "Supply arms, money and political and military advice to revolutionary movements around the world."

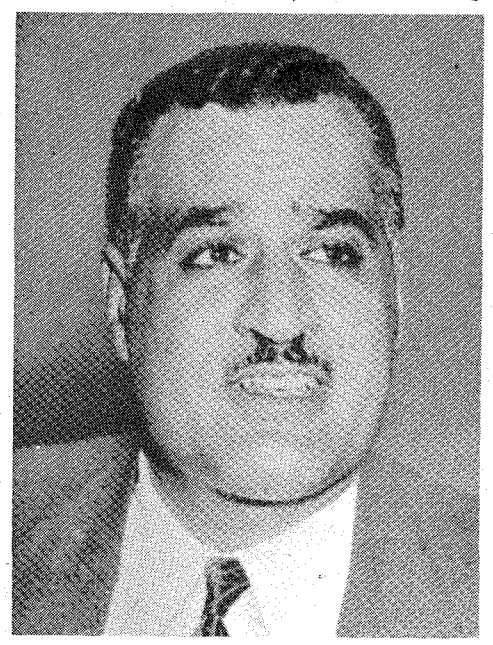
Paul Bethel, editor of *Latin America Report*, sponsored by the prominent Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, noted in his January 24 issue:

"In plain truth, competent observers grimly conclude that Russia has, indeed, declared a war of subversion against the free world, and against a United States which is barely aware of the peril.

"Neither the White House nor the State Department has bestirred itself, even to the point of issuing statements alerting the public to Russian perfidy . . . . Yet the Havana conference represents the largest gathering of guerrillas in one spot in the world's history."

The final resolution approved by the conferees is one of the most militant documents adopted by world communism in recent years. After blasting American imperialism and equating America's leaders with "Hitler's gangsters," the resolution pledges the conferees to full support for North Viet Nam and calls for:

"Immediate ceasing of the American aggression against South Viet Nam, immediate withdrawal of all American troops and those of the satellite countries [America's allies] from South Viet Nam, dismantling of North American military bases in South Viet Nam. Immediate, final and unconditional ceasing



Egypt's Nasser sent greetings to the session and suggested the next conference be held in Cario.

of the air raids and other acts of aggression against the territory of the DRV [Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; i.e., North Viet Nam]. Compliance with and implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements by the government of the United States of America. Recognition of the NFLSV [National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam] as the only true and legal representative of the people of South Viet Nam. . . ."

According to the Soviet News Agency, Tass, the resolution also emphasizes that struggles against "imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism in the countries of the three continents and in the whole world" should be "closely linked with the struggle of the Vietnamese people." In short, step up the pressures globally until the United States abandons Viet Nam.

Yousef El Sebai (right), of the United Arab Republic, confers during the Havana Tri-Continental Conference with Osmany Cienfuegos of Cuba, who was head of the preparatory committee of the Conference. In the middle is an interpreter.

Among other explosive statements and proposals appearing in the Red resolution:

• "The development of international affairs in recent years shows that Yankee imperialism is the principal bastion of the reactionary forces, that imperialism is the international gendarme and the number one enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, of all the peoples of the world. . . .

• "The conference is convinced that in face of the imperialist violence, peoples of the three continents should answer it with revolutionary violence. . . ."

• According to Communist radio and press reports, the resolution also calls for the specific support of revolutionary movements in Viet Nam, Japan, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, the Congo, Malaya, Peru, Guatemala, Venezuela, Santo Domingo, Colombia, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and Angola, North Kalimantan, Southern Yemen, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

Nor does that exhaust the list of Communist targets. Red China's New China News Agency quotes the resolution as saying the conference "actively supports the fight of the Korean people to reunify their fatherland in accordance with their own will and to drive the U.S. troops out of South Korea."

• The closing paragraph of the conference resolution, as reported by Red China, says: "Faced with the criminal alliance of the reactionary forces, the people of various countries in the three continents have reacted with active, vigorous and militant solidarity, and with their readiness to reply to every act of imperialist aggression by revolutionary action, carrying on the battle until the complete liquidation of all forms of imperialist, colonial and neocolonial oppression."

Hopes by some Kremlinologists that the Soviets would be a "moderating" force on the conference have proved elusive.

Indeed, a message sent to the conference by Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev and Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, declared that "joint actions of the anti-imperialist forces are exceptionally important in the present international situation." According to Havana radio, the chief Soviet delegate to the Tri-Continental Conference, Sharaf Rashidov, stated the revolutionary spirit of Havana inspired the agreements of the meeting.

A member of the Communist party's central committee and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Rashidov was also reported to have "praised the manner in which the conference was organized. He termed particularly successful," according to Havana radio, "that work of the conference approving the documents on the mobilization of the nations of three continents to struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism."

Ghana was the only self-styled non-Communist nation to send an official representative to the gathering; the Ghana delegate was Ekowo-Daniels, Ghana's deputy attorney general. The only other so-called neutralist leader who made his presence officially felt at the conference, writes DeWitt Copp in the authoritative *Washington Report*, was the UAR's Nasser. "Nasser joined with the heads of Communist nations in sending a message of greeting to the assembly. He also proposed that the next Tri-Continental Conference be held in Cairo."

Copp asks this intriguing question: "Since all the countries of Latin America were represented by Communist guerrilla leaders, was there a delegation from the United States? Some Americans were present. They included Joseph North and William Allen of the Communist publication, *The Worker*.

"Also on hand as an observer was Robert Williams, who fled to Havana from the United States nearly five years ago to avoid arrest. Williams is the guiding force behind the Communist-inspired Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and has long been an inciter—via broadcasts from Havana—of violence and race hatred in the United States. When asked by a Cuban reporter for his opinion of the conference, he parroted his comrades, but then added: 'I am very fast to say that many people in the United States are not fully aware of what is taking place here.'"

The Tri-Continental Conference, it would seem, should have shattered the belief that communism has mellowed to any significant degree.

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Will the Real Budget Please Stand Up?

$112.8 Billion Budget Proposed

Washington (UPI) — President Johnson today [illegible] record $112.8 billion budget and

President Johnson has proposed a budget for fiscal 1967 that is widely described as calling for expenditures of $112.8 billion. As the analysis below shows, $175.5 billion would be much closer to the true spending figure.

Table B–9. GROSS EXPENDITURES OF GOVERNMENT-ADMINISTERED FUNDS (in millions of dollars)

Function	1963 actual	1964 actual	1965 actual	1966 estimate	1967 estimate
National defense	54,902	56,176	52,554	59,374	63,446
International affairs and finance	3,564	5,070	5,041	5,229	5,589
Space research and technology	2,552	4,171	5,100	5,610	5,313
Agriculture and agricultural resources	18,268	16,260	16,659	16,481	16,838
Natural resources	2,716	2,883	3,143	3,408	3,588
Commerce and transportation	9,432	11,364	12,286	12,535	12,745
Housing and community development	3,105	2,489	2,641	4,639	3,983
Health, labor, and welfare	25,355	26,745	27,721	33,577	38,851
Education	1,276	1,410	1,601	2,372	3,799
Veterans benefits and services	6,715	6,927	6,982	7,259	7,488
Interest	8,308	8,928	9,665	10,281	10,884
General government	2,010	2,262	2,389	2,468	2,577
Undistributed—special allowances				75	350
Total	138,205	144,686	145,784	163,310	175,451

The total shown in the table above probably will —and should—startle you. It shows that the budget figures most widely used by the Administration and the press conceal between fifty and sixty billion dollars worth of federal expenditures.

The President's fiscal 1967 budget has been reported, with a straight face, as recommending $112.8 billion in federal spending. But, as the table shows, the real total is $175.5 billion. The "missing" $62.6 billion is hidden by a bewildering variety of tricks and bookkeeping gimmicks. This hocus-pocus not only hides about one-third of the budget from the public, it also completely distorts comparisons of defense and nondefense spending.

The budget is so lengthy and detailed that the average citizen cannot wrestle with it unaided. *Human Events* has obtained from a non-governmental expert the following answers to many of the most frequently asked questions about LBJ's recent budget:

Q. What explains the difference between the expenditure total of $175 billion and the much smaller figure of $112 billion used by the press and the Administration?

A. The $112 billion refers to the administrative budget, which belongs in a bookkeeper's museum. This budget is so incomplete it is virtually useless. First, the administrative budget includes only funds which the government *owns* and does not include funds which the government holds in trust. Thus it does not include expenditures of giant trust funds such as the Social Security trust fund ($22 billion), the highway trust fund ($4 billion), the Medicare trust funds ($3.3 billion) and the unemployment trust fund ($2.9 billion). Trust fund expenditures in the coming fiscal year are estimated at $37 billion, but the administrative budget does not show this spending at all.

Second, Congress has established many "revolving funds" which do not deposit their receipts in the treasury but, instead, apply these receipts directly to their operations. Expenditures of these funds are thus shown on a net basis; i.e., with receipts already deducted instead of shown separately. For example, Post Office Department expenditures in the coming fiscal year are estimated at $5.8 billion, but after $5 billion in receipts are deducted from this amount, the budget will only show "total" expenditures of less than a billion dollars. This method of bookkeeping conceals more than $21 billion in Mr. Johnson's new budget.

The significance of these bookkeeping devices is considerable. Besides distorting the total amount of spending (as pointed out above), the use of only the administrative budget also distorts the percentage increases in spending over the years. This is especially true since so much new spending—highways, Medicare, etc.—is done through trust funds and thus is not reflected in the administrative budget.

Therefore, while the administrative budget shows an increase of $20.2 billion, or 21.8 per cent, between fiscal 1963 and fiscal 1967, the *total* (gross) expenditures figures show a jump of $37.2 billion, or 26.9 per cent. This rate of increase is more than four times the rate of U.S. population growth.

Graph #1 shows in visual form the growth in these gross expenditures and the substantial spending which is omitted from the administrative budget.

Q. Using this gross expenditures total, how much is the federal government planning to spend per family?

A. Gross expenditures per family would be $3,588 under LBJ's budget for fiscal 1967.

Q. Even under his distorted administrative budget the President predicts a deficit of only $1.8 billion in the coming fiscal year. Can he come that close to a balanced budget?

A. In modern history *all* presidential predictions about the size of the surplus or deficit have proved inaccurate—often grossly so. There is no reason to feel that LBJ's 1967 budget is any different.

In fact, officials at the Bureau of the Budget privately concede that supplemental appropriations will be submitted to Congress later this session which will swell the deficit. This is what has happened to LBJ's administrative budget for fiscal 1966.

The President originally asked for $99.7 billion, desiring for political reasons to stay under the $100-billion figure. Then LBJ quietly went to Congress for supplemental appropriations which shattered this economy image; his $99.7-billion budget has already become $106.4 billion with a deficit now estimated between $6 and $7 billion.

In order to hold down the budget deficit for 1967, the President has resorted to some desperate revenue-raising maneuvers. He is asking Congress to re-impose several excise taxes which were just repealed. If Congress goes along—and there are many members who don't want to—this will provide $1.2 billion in the coming year. LBJ is also asking that withholding of individual and corporate income taxes be accelerated. This will yield about $3.5 billion in "one-shot" revenues.

In addition, he is counting on $5.7 billion from the sale of federal loans and materials from the strategic stockpile. Finally, lowering the silver content of coins will enable the government to save $1.5 billion during fiscal 1967.

To keep the deficit to $1.8 billion, the President is also relying on some smaller, but just as shaky, revenue increases. For example, he hopes that in one year the government's revenues from permits and licenses will go up 20 per cent, and he is counting on a 70 per cent increase in the payment of interest on U.S. loans to foreign nations.

These makeshift and fortuitous revenues amount to over $12 billion of the administrative budget's revenues. Without them, the deficit would be about $13.8 billion.

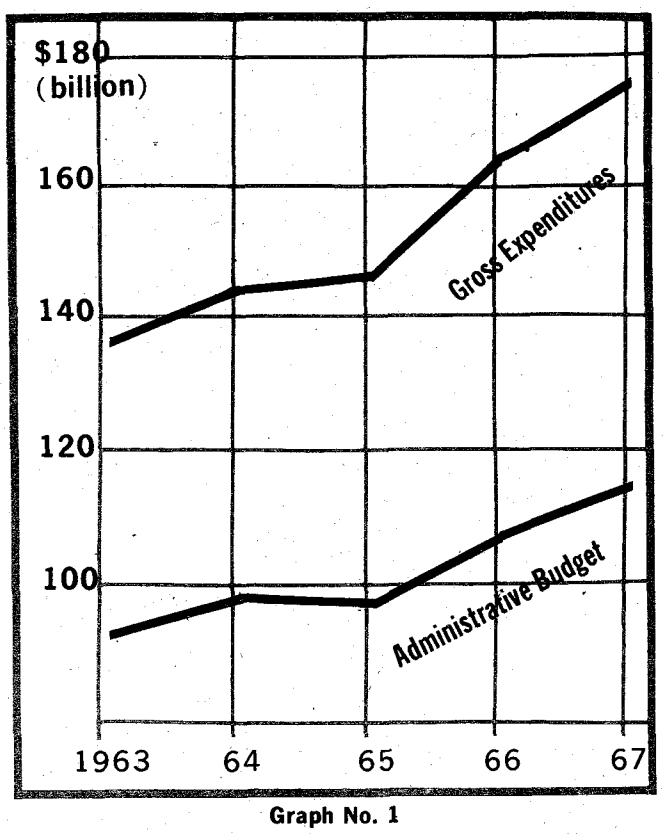
Moreover, even if all of these receipts do materialize during fiscal 1967, many of them, as noted, are "one-shot" maneuvers and cannot help in future years. The government cannot continue to finance growing expenditures by speeding up tax payments or by relying on other gimmicks.

Q. How much does interest on the national debt cost? Per family?

A. Interest during the current fiscal year will total $12 billion. This amounts to $245 per family.

Q. Does using this gross expenditures budget make any difference in the statements which LBJ made in his budget message?

A. It certainly does. All of the claims of a "balanced" and a "responsible" program refer to the administrative budget. For example, he said "total *regular* administrative budget expenditures; i.e., outside of special Viet Nam costs, rise by only $.6 billion between 1966 and 1967." This claim is clearly ridiculous when



Graph No. 1

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Communist Refused Burial in Arlington Cemetery

By JERRY GREENE in the New York Daily *News*

Snow fell gently against the little white crosses in Arlington National Cemetery last Wednesday morning. A sharp wind out of the Northeast twitched the brown lace of the bare trees. The wind, the shrouding snow and the stillness of the rolling hillside muffled the crack of the rifle volleys and muted the voice of the bugle sounding taps.

It was a small funeral. An enlisted man rates only the firing squad, six pallbearers and a bugler, in addition, of course, to the chaplain. Only a handful of mourners huddle under the awning of the grave's green canopy; the honored dead had lived in a distant city, and not many could come to his service.

Not far away another open grave stood waiting. Across the slopes another firing squad cracked off the three volleys from their M14s.

On Monday they had buried a lad killed in Viet Nam. Two more bodies flown from Saigon rested in the cemetery depository, with funeral services set for Friday.

Below the Lee Mansion, the construction crew that had come to work at 7 a.m. knocked off two hours later. The snow was thickening too heavily for the workmen to accomplish much more this day in their preparation of the memorial tomb for John F. Kennedy.

A visitor could hear a growl from one of those workmen, an angry word of bitter protest.

This one had seen a headline in a morning paper and he was sickened. The Communist party, he had read, was seeking to turn these hallowed acres into a mockery. They were planning, these Reds, to profane the nation's symbolic memorial to all its heroes with the interment of a Communist chieftain. They almost got away with it.

The plan had the earmarks of a routine matter when it began. Had it not been caught, it could have been turned into a propaganda coup of international magnitude, and even last Thursday during the delaying process, Moscow's Tass news agency was screaming protest.

An unsuspecting Army received a normal, ordinary request for permission to inter the ashes of former Staff Sgt. Robert Thompson. A legitimate hero, winner of a Distinguished Service Cross, the nation's second highest decoration, he would appear to be more qualified for the burial than many.

The Army was rocked when it read in the January 23 issue of *The Worker*, official Communist newspaper in New York City, an announcement that Thompson had been a top party official and "his ashes will be interred at the famed burial place where President Kennedy lies."

An angry Army discovered in the January 25 issue of *The Worker* that the Commies were drumming up a march on Washington to participate in the burial ceremonies, set for January 31 at 1 p.m.

The Army quickly asked for a ruling by the Justice Department, an opinion which could have but one conclusion. Thompson had served five years and a month of sentences totaling seven years after his conviction in 1949 for conspiracy to advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Under regulations, the five years in prison seemed sufficient to bar the burial.

The Kennedy Memorial workman wasn't alone in his disgust. Members of Congress fired protests to the Pentagon. Andy Borg, commander-in-chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, telegraphed President Johnson that the Commie plot "comes as a shock to the conscience of this nation."

Of all the tricky, smelly outrages the Communists have sought to sneak across, this was one of the worst. The issue chosen for exploitation was delicate. The timing was perfect for the purpose of stirring discord. Thompson died and was cremated last October; only a few days ago came the sudden desire for an Arlington interment—with speeches.

Word was sent to the Army that there should be no firing squad, no guns to remind anybody that the rest of the nation was involved in a war in Viet Nam.

There was no question that Thompson was a genuine hero, that his DSC was well earned in a display of "extraordinary heroism" in leading an assault against machine gun positions in New Guinea in 1943.

Without faulting the heroism of this single event, it might be noted that perhaps Thompson had a trifle more experience than some of his fellow draftees. He was a veteran of the Communists' International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War.

He had been a Communist party member since 1933, spent more than a year in Moscow, and held high office in the American branch before and after World War II, finally rising to the post of national executive secretary. Convicted under the Smith Act in 1949, Thompson jumped bail while an unsuccessful appeal was pending in 1951 and was finally captured by the FBI in 1953. He drew another four years' sentence for contempt of court and was paroled after five years and a month.

Thompson's ghost could find consolation in the knowledge that not all military heroes make it to Arlington. Once there was a major general. His name was Benedict Arnold.

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"POP, IS IT TRUE there is no free speech in Russia?" "Not exactly, my son. As a matter of fact, a Russian can say just anything he pleases about anything—*once*."—From *Leisure*.

Bosch's 'Alliance' with the Reds

From the Allen-Scott Report

The existence of "an uneasy alliance" between former President Juan Bosch and Dominican Communists has been documented by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security.

That's the private report Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.), vice-chairman, has sent the White House. He is telling President Johnson the documents were presented at closed hearings held last month. Much of the data came from Alfonso L. Tarabochia, an Internal Security staff member with extensive Dominican contacts, and Juan Isidro Tapia Adames, defector from the rebel cause.

In his report to the President, Dodd states: "The subcommittee's latest hearings present important new evidence that Juan Bosch, ousted president of the Dominican Republic, and his lieutenants maintained indirect contact with Communists before and after the recent uprising. Mr. Bosch apparently thought he could use the aid of the Dominican Communists and other leftist agents, while secretly distrusting them.

"But the hard fact emerges that, despite mutual suspicions, the Bosch people and the Red activists did maintain liaison for the purpose of cooperation."

This subcommittee's findings back the warning CIA Director William Raborn gave the President during the first days of the Dominican rebellion. He reported that Bosch, then in Puerto Rico, was daily consulting with Communists on the strife-torn Caribbean island.

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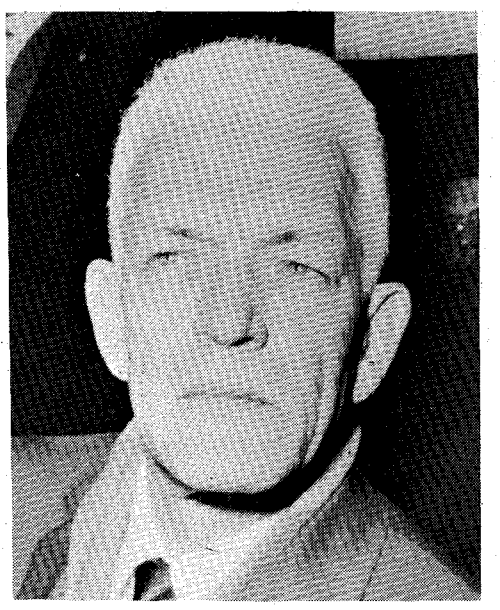

Former Dominican President Juan Bosch consulted daily with the Communists.

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SEDITION CHARGES—The Justice Department is considering possible sedition charges against John Lewis, ultra-militant head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Lewis has endorsed a statement supporting U.S. peaceniks who have vowed their refusal to fight in Viet Nam.

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"LIBERTY has never come from the government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of it. The history of liberty is a history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it."
—Woodrow Wilson

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related to the gross expenditures budget, in which it is seen that nondefense increases ($8.1 billion) are just about double the increases in defense expenditure ($4.1 billion).

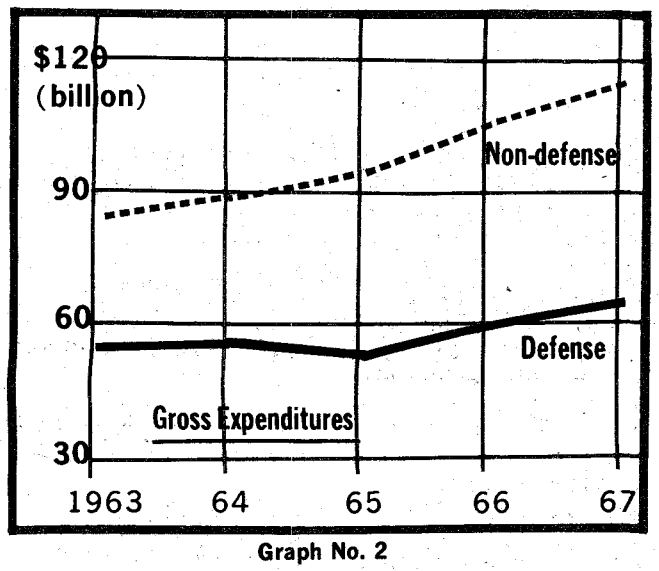
Q. What is President Johnson's record on defense as opposed to nondefense spending?

A. During each of his four fiscal years, LBJ's heart has been, and apparently will be, with the pork barrel. As graph #2 shows clearly, nondefense spending has increased and is estimated to continue increasing without a pause. As taken from the gross expenditures budget, actual and estimated growth in defense and nondefense spending during LBJ's four fiscal years looks like this:

Fiscal Year		Defense		Nondefense
1964 actual	+	$1.3 billion	+	$ 5.3 billion
1965 est.	—	$3.6 billion	+	$ 4.7 billion
1966 est.	+	$6.8 billion	+	$10.7 billion
1967 est.	+	$4.1 billion	+	$ 8.1 billion
Total	+	**$8.6 billion**	+	**$28.8 billion**

Q. Do the budget reductions which President Johnson referred to really mean reductions in some federal programs?

A. Almost without exception, the answer is no. Most of the expenditure "reductions" are based on gimmicks which serve to conceal increased expenditures and operations. For example, an



Graph No. 2

Agriculture Department "reduction" of $58 million is based on the assumption that Congress will approve the imposition of fees for certain inspection services. Congress has rejected such proposals year after year. The same can be said of proposed transportation user fees which are counted on for $490 million in additional revenue.

By far the most deceptive "reductions" are based on sales of federal assets and other receipts which are deducted from expenditures, and thus produce paper reductions. This budget is loaded with nondefense programs which show reduced expenditure totals. In almost all cases, however, close examination reveals that various gimmicks have been used to offset expenditures, and that the program's operations are expanding.

Only one individual nondefense program is scheduled to receive a genuine cutback of expenditures and operations. This program is federal assistance for the operating expenses of schools in federally affected areas, which is estimated to be cut by $85 million. Of course, the newly passed program of federal assistance to elementary and secondary schools will receive an additional $905 million during the coming fiscal year.

If federal spending is examined on the basis of functional categories such as education, agriculture, natural resources, health, welfare, etc., *the only category to suffer a genuine reduction is a national security category: the space program.*

Q. Which welfare programs are getting the gravy in this budget?

A. The following list sets forth 19 of the most significant increases in administrative budget welfare programs. The dollar figures are in millions and represent the amount which estimated fiscal 1967 expenditures exceed those estimated for fiscal 1966.

Program	Increase (In Millions)
"War on Poverty"	**$390.0**
Food stamp program	**43.9**
Economic Development Administration (successor to ARA)	**79.5**
Appalachian highway program	**81.5**
Construction of public works by the Army Corps of Engineers	**41.0**
Aid to elementary and secondary schools	**905.0**
General aid to colleges and universities	**168.1**
National Teacher Corps	**50.7**
Construction of facilities for colleges and universities	**164.0**
Vocational rehabilitation	**90.0**
Administrative expenses of Medicare	**99.1**
Medical payments for uncovered aged persons	**807.0**
Public assistance grants to states	**65.4**
National and child welfare grants to states	**41.0**
Grants for the construction of water and sewer facilities	**49.5**
Medical care of veterans	**43.4**
Veterans' readjustment benefits	**89.1**

The President will not get congressional approval for money for all of these programs without a fight. The National Teacher Corp's appropriation, for example, was turned down by Congress last year and may well face hard sledding again this session.

Q. Expenditures for the new Department of Housing and Urban Development are shown as minus $414 million. Is this correct?

A. Not at all. With over 15,000 employes, this new department, handling urban renewal, public housing, neighborhood facility grants, water and sewer grants and many other projects, will spend at least $1 billion in taxpayer funds. And, because so many of its operations are loans and mortgages made with revolving funds, its total level of operations will be over $6 billion.

The rather silly figure of minus $414 results from the practice described earlier by which departments deduct certain receipts before totaling expenditures. HUD plans during fiscal 1967 to convert into cash certain of its assets on hand, including loans and mortgages. Although the government really gains nothing by this move, this cash will be called a "receipt" and will be used to offset operating expenses. As the budget stands now, more HUD assets will be converted than there will be operating expenses—thus the "minus $414 million" figure.

A close examination of the Johnson budget for 1967 reveals that many previously established programs now run by HUD will, in fact, show large increases in gross expenditures:

College housing loans	+	$63.7 million
Urban renewal	+	$59.8 "
Mass transit	+	$30.3 "
Grants for water and sewer facilities	+	$49.5 "
Grants for urban land acquisition	+	$48.0 "
Grants for acquisition of facilities for local welfare services	+	$11.3 "

Q. How has Medicare affected the budget?

A. The coming fiscal year will be the first in which Medicare will be in full operation, so all figures about spending under the program are very imprecise. The budget estimates expenditures for benefits at $3.1 billion and administrative costs at $222 million. Receipts supposedly will total $3.8 billion during the coming fiscal year, leaving some $670 million in the trust fund to cover future claims. Many experts, however, looking at the experience of other countries with government health plans, feel the benefits paid will be much higher than estimated.

The government itself recognizes that more revenue will be needed in the coming years to pay for the program. On January 1, the first Social Security tax increase to help finance Medicare went into effect, raising the rate

President Johnson pens his signature to a bound copy of his record-breaking $175.5 billion budget. Bending over the table at the ceremony in Washington is Director of the Budget Charles L. Schultze.

from 3.6 per cent to 4.2 per cent and boosting the taxable annual earnings base from $4,800 to $6,600. This means that in 1966 employers and employes will both pay a maximum of $277.20 instead of last year's $174.

Increases in the tax rate are planned through 1987, when the total paid out annually by both employers and employes will reach $372.90. As noted above, many experts feel that even these increases will not be adequate to cover benefit pay-outs and the tax may have to be stepped up sharply long before 1987.

Q. In his budget message the President referred several times to a consolidated cash budget. He also claimed that this budget showed a surplus of revenues in excess of expenditures. What is this budget, and does it mean that the federal government is not really going to run a deficit?

A. The so-called cash budget consists, basically, of the administrative budget plus the trust funds. The cash budget is therefore more comprehensive than the administrative budget, but both allow many expenditures to be stated with receipts already deducted. In this important respect, they are both inferior to gross expenditures already referred to, which is the only true measure of *total* government expenditures.

It is true that the *estimated* cash budget for the coming fiscal year shows a small surplus. However, since the trust fund receipts included in this budget cannot be used to cover other expenditures, the administrative budget still shows a deficit—$1.8 billion.

The national debt will increase by roughly this amount because the government must borrow to make up this administrative budget deficit, despite the fact that the cash budget shows a small surplus.

Q. How much per U.S. family does LBJ want to spend on foreign aid?

A. Total proposed expenditures for non-military foreign aid are unfortunately not available, but even on the distorted administrative budget basis, they amount to $74 per family. If military assistance is included, spending for foreign aid soars to an estimated $97 per family. In addition, there are many forms of indirect foreign aid (for example, spending by U.S. employes and tourists abroad) that are not included.

Q. President Johnson talks a lot about economy in government. Does his new budget make provision for increasing the number of federal employes?

A. It certainly does. The President estimates that between now and the end of the current fiscal year (June 30) 40,315 new *nondefense* civilian employes will be added to the federal payroll. Then, during fiscal 1967, the budget proposes to add 45,100 more such employes. (In this same period, only 6,000 defense-oriented civilian employes will be added.) This does not appear to be ruthless economy. Moreoever, these increases still do not show the full impact of federal spending on government employment because many of the new federal spending programs are in the form of grants to state and local governments. These grants, in turn, swell state and local payrolls.

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More Left-Wing 'Free Universities' Spring Up

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

In recent months radical leftists in several sections of the country have set up their own institutions of higher learning, known variously as "anti-universities," "counter-universities" and "free universities."

These schools, staffed by ideologues of the far left, are designed to provide an intellectual haven for "free thinkers" who dislike the discipline of the traditional university.

Because these schools stress the class struggle, they are not unlike the cadre schools established during the Depression years by the Communist party. But no single Marxist group controls these schools.

On the contrary, leaders of Communist splinter groups usually at doctrinal odds with one another have demonstrated rare harmony in joining together to sponsor "counter-universities" from New York to San Francisco.

Consider the Free University of New York, an institution that opened its doors in July 1965. The FUNY campus consists of a decrepit loft building overlooking New York's Union Square.

The school was set up by Allen Krebs, a self-described Marxist who was bounced from the faculty at Adelphi University for espousing revolutionary dogma in the classroom. Krebs is an unabashed leftist who addressed the founding convention of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party. Federal files disclose that he participated in an illegal tour of Castro Cuba in 1964 that was organized by the Progressive Labor party's student leaders.

Several Progressive Labor party officials, including its chairman, Milton Rosen, lecture at FUNY. Rosen, who was expelled from the Communist Party, U.S.A, as a "left-wing deviationist," considers the party of Gus Hall "soft on capitalism."

Nevertheless, Rosen serves on the FUNY faculty with the Communist party's chief theoretician, Herbert Aptheker.

Others who have served on the FUNY faculty during the past eight months include James Mellen, a former professor at Drew University who lost his post after endorsing the Communist Viet Cong; Staughton Lynd, the Yale professor who recently visited North Viet Nam in defiance of State Department regulations; and Russell Stetler, a leader of the pro-Peking May 2nd Movement, who has sought to raise funds for the Viet Cong.

Another "counter-university" under federal surveillance is the New Left School of Los Angeles. This school, established last fall, was the brainchild of Dan Bessie, a leading member of the Communist party's southern California district.

Associates of Bessie on the New Left School faculty include several veterans of the Communist cause. Among them are Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Communist party's southern California district; John Lawson, a Hollywood screen writer who served time in prison for contempt of Congress; and John Haag, youthful chairman of the Los Angeles branch of the party-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

Yale Prof. Staughton Lynd, who has served on the FUNY faculty, recently addressed a standing-room-only crowd in Washington, D.C.

Leaders of the Communist party in years past have battled furiously with the Trotskyite Socialist Workers party. But they now work closely with the Trotskyites on the faculty of the Los Angeles school.

Members of this faculty include "Theodore Edwards" and Darrel Meyers. Edwards is the alias of Edmund Kovacs, Socialist Workers party chief in Los Angeles. Meyers is chairman of the party's youth branch, the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Los Angeles school has been endorsed by other leaders of the far left. They include Margaret Thorpe, Los Angeles chairman of the militant Students for a Democratic Society, and the Rev. Stephen Fritchman, a veteran leftist.

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BROKEN RESOLUTIONS—Rep. Ralph Harvey (R.-Ind.) says that he had hoped the President would make some New Year's resolutions to cut back on non-defense spending, to balance the budget, to permit the existence of an independent Congress. "But if the President had made these resolutions," Harvey says, "they probably would have been broken like most others."

Goodell Hits Poverty Waste

Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), a ranking Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee, says the buying power of the dollar is being drastically reduced by wild spending, such as the way the Administration has ladled out funds under the anti-poverty program —Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity.

In a recent speech, Goodell said he had just learned that four Job Corps trainees won an all-expense tour to the Rose Bowl game. "It seems," said Goodell, "they were selected for 'their prowess in punting, place-kicking, passing and running the 50-yard dash, as well as for writing an essay, 'What the Job Corps Means to Me.' "

After reading this announcement, said Goodell, he asked a reporter to check on OEO press releases for him. "I found," remarked Goodell, "that in 18 recent days, the taxpayers had footed the cost for 72 press releases—and what press releases. They were all on one side of slick paper. They were not mimeographed. They were expensive photo offset jobs. . . .

Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N. Y.) found that Shriver's OEO sent out 72 press releases in 18 days.

"I note that in a grant for Monmouth County, N.J., $52,000 of $67,000 was earmarked for administrative salaries and expenses.

"Not only do the poor need to be protected from the poverty administrators. This tossing around of our dollars decreases their value. When a person hands us a bad check we call him a crook. What do you call an Administration that hands out shrinking dollars?"

□ □ □

HEADACHE CURE—Asking the government to help us to regain lost individual liberty is like asking the hangman to cure our headache. —From the Pampas (Tex.) *Daily News*

PRIVATE AND HOME STUDY SCHOOLS

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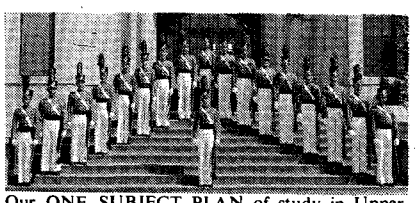

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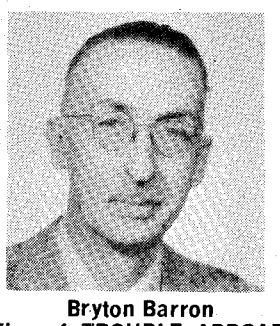

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Do You Want to Vote This Fall?

The Need for Off-Year Elections

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

One way to test the desirability of President Johnson's proposal to amend the Constitution to change the terms of House of Representatives members from two to four years, and to have the candidates run at the same time as the President, is to ask yourself whether or not you would like to see the 1966 House elections called off.

Personally, I would find it a most unappetizing idea. It would mean that the people of the United States would be deprived of their right to express themselves in an effective way on a whole host of questions that have arisen since the big LBJ victory over Barry Goldwater.

Since 1964 there has been a quantitative as well as a qualitative change in the Vietnamese war. The old problem of unemployment has been replaced by the threat of inflation owing to a lack of the manpower needed to produce both guns and butter. The stress of the anti-poverty crusade has shifted, for with more people at work because of the increase in the Gross National Product there is a greater temptation to use government anti-poverty funds for selfish political purposes.

The "trigger happiness" issue has given way to fears of a bad peace in the Far East. In short, our social and political environment is already vastly different from the environment of late 1964—and we may need new men in the House of Representatives to cope with the change as the voters would have them cope.

Why a President should want to do away with our most reliable political barometer is understandable only in the light of human frailty. It is in the nature of the human animal to seek surcease from trouble, and if a person doesn't know the possible extent of the storm that is blowing up he can remain happy for a little longer. But LBJ should be the last man in the world to scoff at the need for political barometers, which are indispensable to the believer in "consensus."

Johnson has spoken of the need to "change to meet the demands of change." To do this, a President must keep his antennae as perceptive as is humanly possible. Mid-term House elections are a main factor in maintaining the sharpness of a President's eyes and ears, which is something that should concern everybody, the President included.

It is not so much the length of the individual House of Representatives term that is important; it is the fact that the balance of House power can be significantly altered at short intervals by the voters in a way that will keep impinging on the chief executive's critical conscience.

If there must be a change in favor of longer House of Representatives terms, it would be better to figure out a staggered system such as the one that governs the election of U.S. senators. The glory of the Senate is that only a third of the membership is ever forced at any one time to think about the President's coattails when campaigning for re-election.

If the House were to be chosen every four years at the time of the presidential election, it would be relieved of any immediate need to keep up with what the voters are thinking. The Senate, with a third of its membership up for election every two years, would become the more popular body. The House would become a rubber stamp for a strong-minded executive.

If the House election term requirements must be changed, why not four-year terms with elections only in the presidential mid-term year? Or why not three-year staggered terms, with a third of the membership going to the voters every year? This would have the disadvantage of adding to an atmosphere of political turmoil. But it would give us the equivalent of a permanent system of by-elections, and a President would really have to worry about "consensus."

Better yet, why not leave the system the way it is? It may be uncomfortable and expensive for a congressman to have a campaign every other year, but the American system of government wasn't set up for the comfort of politicians. It was set up for the people.

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None So Blind

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Internationally famous theologian Reinhold Niebuhr has enjoyed far more prestige than it seems to us his judgment justifies. For example, take a look at his latest pronouncement.

He said in New York that America's role in Viet Nam resembles "the same error the Russians committed when they suppressed the Hungarian uprising." Now this came from a man who is supposed to be intelligent and well-informed.

His complaint is that the regime we support in South Viet Nam is not "democratic." Is the Viet Cong "democratic" in gaining control over villages by the murder and/or kidnaping of some 11,000 village leaders and the disembowelment of men, women and children as part of the Red blackmail?

The Russian action in Hungary was to impose dictatorial communism from the outside against the people inside. The American action in Viet Nam is to protect the independence of the people inside against vicious communism from the outside. These actions are not parallel, but are diametrically opposed.

That Dr. Niebuhr doesn't see the difference does not discredit our defense against Communist aggression; it merely discredits the judgment of Dr. Niebuhr. There is none so blind as one who refuses to see.

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SUBSIDIZED FOREIGNERS—The House Government Operations subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Henry Reuss (D.-Wis.), will shortly open public hearings on the use of federal dollars to finance scientific research in foreign countries by foreign scientists. Reuss said that more than $25 million is currently being used to pay for overseas research, an outlay that seriously aggravates the balance-of-payments deficit. Recent projects include studies of a New Guinea tribe of aborigines, society in Switzerland, leadership in Lebanon, conformity in Canada and families in France.

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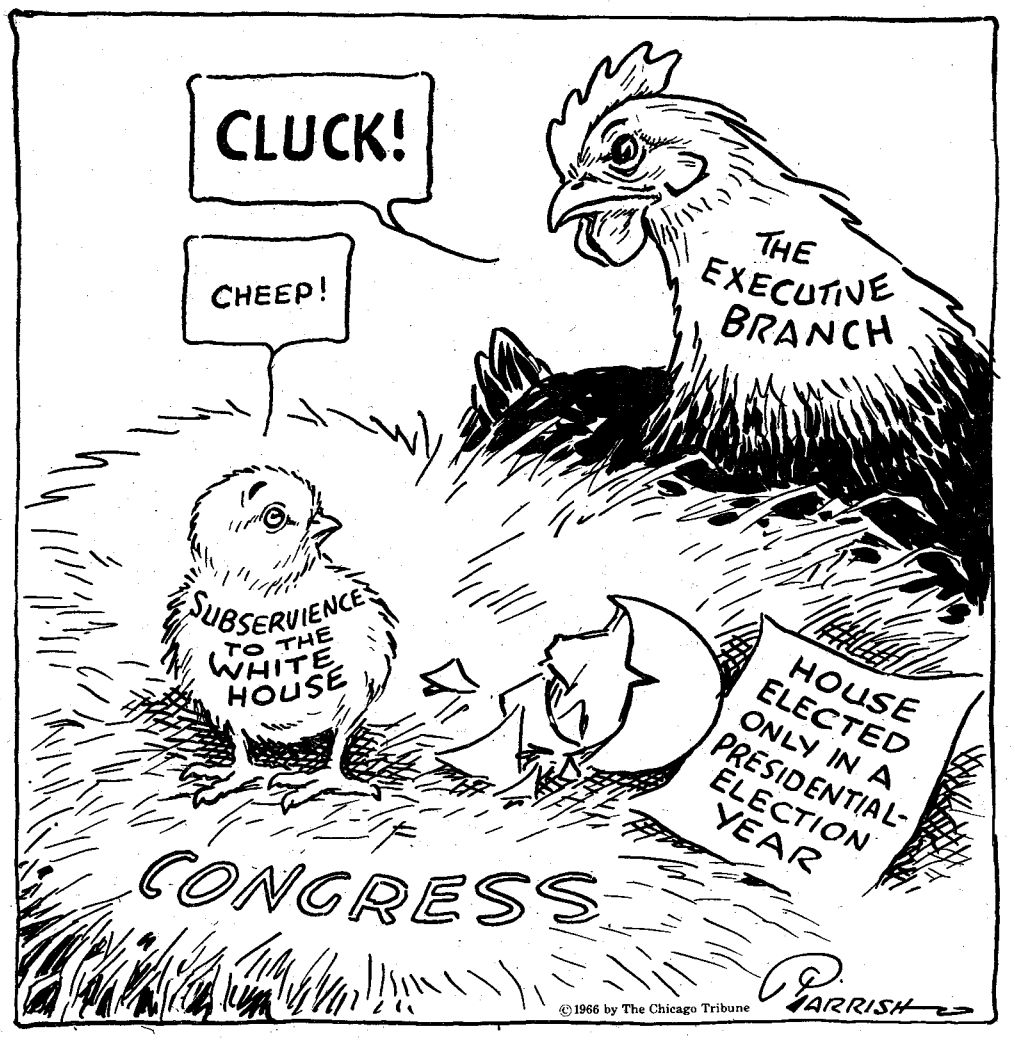
WE'RE LEARNING—An educator says the average American doesn't know enough about our economy. Maybe not, but taxes have forced him to practice it.—From the Birmingham (Mich.) *Eccentric*.

YES, MOTHER!



Talk vs. Action

'De Facto' Integration And Sen. Bobby Kennedy

By VICTOR LASKY

Rehashing an old theme, Bobby Kennedy has once again warned of new riots in big-city ghettoes unless an "imaginative and extensive effort" to end segregation in the North is begun immediately.

The theme is hot stuff with Northern liberals concerned about the increased militancy of their colored brothers. The only trouble is that these liberals rarely practice what they preach. The liberals flee as if from the plague when Negroes begin moving into their neighborhoods.

In a speech in New York City the other day, Sen. Kennedy declared: "Consciousness of the plight of the urban Negro must pervade our thought and our planning in every program that we undertake to improve our cities and plan for their future. In any other course will lie disaster."

These constant reminders of the plight of the Negro by the senator from the state of New York are not really necessary. It is a problem which preoccupies the minds of national leaders of both parties. Reams of copy on this subject fill the columns of Northern newspapers. And rarely does a day pass without some self-proclaimed idealist sounding off about it.

Sen. Kennedy could do his own personal bit about ending segregation by practicing what he is always preaching. He could have sought out living quarters in New York City that are integrated. Instead, he has purchased a plush $100,000 cooperative apartment overlooking the United Nations, where the only Negroes are those who come in as maids and handymen.

The senator could also send his numerous progeny to the integrated public schools of New York City. Needless to say, Bobby's children are all registered in exclusive private schools. But this isn't unusual with loud advocates of school integration. In New York many nationally known civil rights leaders, several of them Negroes, send their kids to private schools. The Manhattan public schools are on the way to becoming as predominantly Negro as those of Washington, D.C.

And Sen. Kennedy could stop frequenting vacation resorts where Negro patronage is discouraged. And he could do something about Jim Crow conditions in Palm Beach, where the family mansion is located.

No one disputes the fact that Negroes are entitled to their rights as American citizens and the fact that for too long Negroes have endured a second-class status. This reporter, incidentally, favored civil rights long before Bobby Kennedy knew what Negroes looked like.

Thanks to federal intervention, Negroes today have plenty of rights. The problem is to make them aware of their responsibilities. On this subject, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy has been extraordinarily mute.

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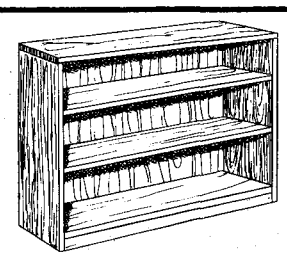

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Because the Army refuses to let merchant seamen help unload urgently needed military supplies in jammed Saigon harbor, ships must stand idle for weeks at a time in places like Cam Ranh Bay (above).

U.S. Officials Are Attempting To Conceal Viet Supply Tie-Up

By VICTOR RIESEL

A brass curtain has been lowered by Pentagon and State Department officials around the slow-motion Viet Nam supply system.

The folds of that curtain are being used to gag union officials, who have learned of lethargy, lack of planning, corruption and rule-book inefficiency now slowing the flow of equipment, weapons and food to our troops and allies.

Because of ancient Army regulations, millions of dollars are being wasted weekly. Cargo ships which should be speeding the oceans are idling at anchor. Seamen who could be working, and have volunteered and have been rejected, are stewing on hot decks in a steaming sun for 50 and 60 empty days at a stretch. And troops go without ammunition, food and tools.

All this—and far more—has been learned by waterfront union leaders. But the Navy and the State Department this past week forbade them to report their findings to the public.

Since the Viet Cong gets word of all this to Hanoi long before U.S. intelligence gets its reports to Washington, State Department and Pentagon brass obviously are seeking to withhold the story from the American public and from President Johnson himself.

Unloading of vital cargo in South Vietnamese ports is notoriously leisurely. Though several years ago it became obvious that huge supplies would have to pour into the mudbank bays and ports, the military did little planning. Even now slender women, weighing less than 100 pounds, carry 200-pound bags of cargo. Corruption is more rampant than malaria. But everybody says little can be done.

Result is that the Army uses its own longshoremen gangs to unload supplies. They are short-handed. So they work one hatch at a time. But they can get help—and not from the South Vietnamese flesh-peddlers, either.

Crews, belonging to the National Maritime Union (NMU), headed by Big Joe Curran, have offered to help empty the holds of ships they manned across the oceans.

Their assistance would be of gigantic help in solving problems on which the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) president, Ted Gleason, and four of his veteran ILA colleagues have been working in Saigon for over a month.

But the Army says no.

The military turns down the American seamen because the regulations say that no civilian shall unload the supplies.

Yet the American merchant sailors are doing nothing on deck. Their ships are held out in the harbor, or in Cam Ranh Bay or Qui Nhon Bay or as far as Manila. The vessels sometimes hang over, idle and fully loaded, for 50 or 60 days.

The longer it takes to unload these vessels, the longer the ever-arriving freighters must stay "on the hook." This is costing the United States many millions of dollars. The government must pay an average of $5,000 a day for each ship while at sea. This is a charge under the charter arrangement. So if there are 50 or more ships idling in the harbor or bay for 50 or more days at some $5,000 daily, it comes to somewhat more than the take on a charity bingo game night.

To take a first-hand look at the maze and mess, Joe Curran has dispatched two NMU officials to Saigon. With their experience they may yet show the military how to tow in World War II liberty ships, anchor them and turn them into waterborn tool ships and "reefer" vessels (refrigerator ships).

Thus as in the last big conflict, there could be fully equipped floating repair and assembly shops, mammoth floating ice boxes for perishable foods, floating warehouses into which the other freighters could empty their holds.

Then the ships need not idle for as long as a month. They could return for new, desperately needed cargo. And crews could be consolidated on those craft which must stay in the bays while skeleton crews take some freighters home. Some could be flown back to crew undermanned ships at this end.

It takes planning. There has been mighty little.

Small wonder the brass' curtain has been rung down on that corner of the China Sea.

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Want Featherbedders Rehired

Railroad Union Threatens Strike

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The American people, especially the people of New York, one would imagine, have had about their fill of irresponsible strikes by public-be-damned labor chieftains.

Which leads us to a conviction that if H.E. Gilbert, the president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, makes good on his threat to shut down the nation's railroads March 31, the good name of the entire American labor movement will be blackened.

Mr. Gilbert, readers will recall, is the same labor boss who threatened to shut down America's railroads two years ago to prevent the roads from laying off thousands of featherbedders who happened at that time to be paying dues into Mr. Gilbert's coffers.

To prevent that strike Congress had to pass a law, the first such peacetime statute in history, calling for compulsory arbitration and the elimination of some 17,500 wholly unnecessary jobs.

That statute expires March 31 at midnight, and Mr. Gilbert is making the unbelievable demand that the railroads go out and rehire the men they didn't even need two years ago.

If the roads refuse to rehire at least half of the old featherbedders—in other words, if the railroads refuse Gilbert's ultimatum that they re-create some 9,000 useless "jobs"—the roads will be shut down by order of H. E. Gilbert.

It appears that what Mr. Gilbert is bemoaning is not the loss of the jobs of his men, but the loss of power for H. E. Gilbert.

For all but 8 per cent of the dismissed firemen, according to one reliable federal source, have found new employment, and the severance pay was more than generous for all.

Any one of those firemen who has found a legitimate new job and who would prefer to go back to spending an eight-hour day loafing in the cab of a diesel engine has got to be a parasite.

We cannot believe men now doing a good day's work would want their featherbeds back; thus we cannot believe Mr. Gilbert's incredible threat is any more than an attempt to extort a few more millions out of the railroads.

The nation's patience should have long since been exhausted. How can one reason with a man who has not yet reconciled himself to the close of the Steam Age and is more than willing to shut down the nation's railroads if they do not accept his demand that they rehire some 9,000 firemen for oil-burning locomotives?

His demand is so outrageous, it ought not even to be discussed. Has Congress not yet seen enough of power abuse to shear such power away from these people?

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JAIL FOR PEACENIKS—Rep. Charles Bennett (D.-Fla.) has tossed in the hopper legislation (H.R. 11864) that would provide stiff jail terms for domestic peaceniks whose demonstrations interfere with the armed forces. "These persons have gone beyond the constitutional bounds of freedom of speech and assembly and have actually subverted the national interests of the United States," Bennett says.

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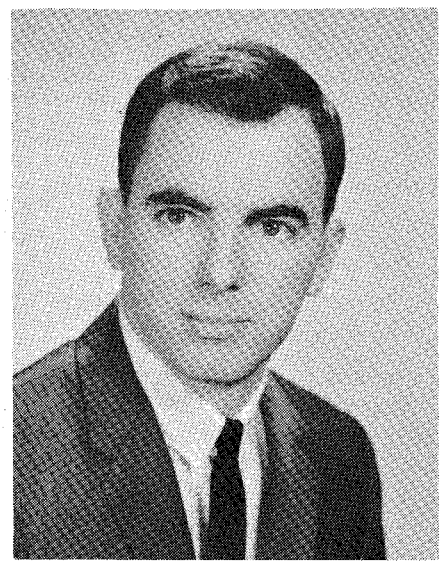

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Mr. Dean Richards has been engaged by Flick-Reedy Education Enterprises as director of its newest 'educational endeavor, "LEADERSHIP TECHNIQUES" course.

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His most immediate former position was that of American Government and Speech instructor to seniors at Central High School, Toledo, Ohio. Mr. Richards' experience also includes over 1,000 Pro-American speeches, many of which were delivered over television and radio throughout the country.

He is a graduate of the University of Notre Dame and his practical teaching experience was gained at Toledo University and Michigan State.

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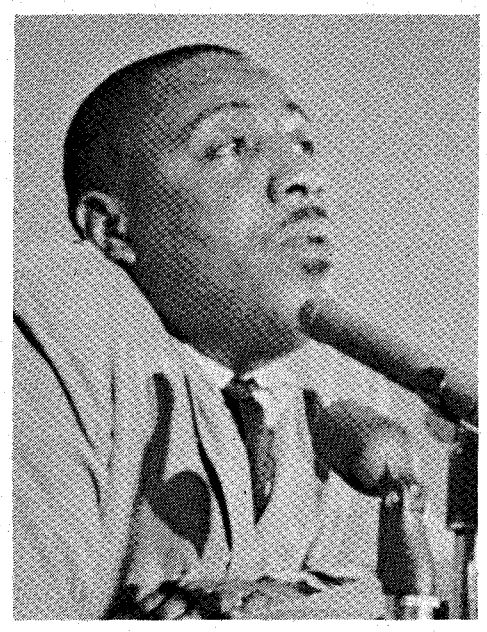

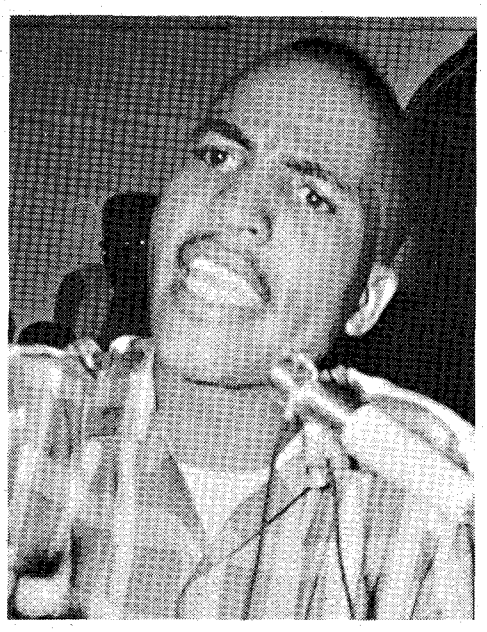

Among the leaders of Chicago's CIPA are Dick Gregory (left), who wants to run for mayor in 1967, and Rev. James Bevel, who is staff director of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference Chicago project.

Leftists' New 'People's Politics'

Committee for Independent Political Action holds conference in Chicago

By ALICE WIDENER

At the conference held this month by the Committee for Independent Political Action (CIPA) in McCormick Place, Chicago, leading members of such organizations as Students for a Democratic Society, the American Friends Service Committee, Women Strike for Peace and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee joined in leftist coalition with known Communists and inciters of race riots with police records.

The announced purpose of CIPA [see *Human Events*, January 8, page 5] is to form a new radical political party in our country. From now on—the conferees agreed—the leftist political activities will be described as "people's politics."

Though the radical leaders guiding the CIPA conference talked "peace," several of them were militants preaching violence and extreme racism. In order of priority, these radicals' most despised "enemies" appear to be the FBI, the police, the city, state and federal government, the fire department.

By practicing "people's politics" at the precinct level, activist leaders in the radical coalition hope to get onstage via trapdoors in the 1966 electoral campaigns and then to obtain strategic roles in the limelight by 1968. Eventually, they plan to direct mob scenes crowding everyone offstage except themselves.

Paul Lauter of the American Friends Service Committee explained to the CIPA conference, "There are new ways in which politics can be useful to us. A guy in politics gets a lot of exposure. A lot of mystique attaches to him in a legal way."

Three of the new legal ways to be practiced by the CIPA leftists are: (1) to break down Democratic majorities by lending radical CIPA support to a Republican candidate in areas where the Republicans are in a minority of "600 Democrats to 40 Republicans"; (2) to lend CIPA support to a Democratic candidate in an area where Republicans are in overwhelming 15-to-1 ascendance; and (3) to run a CIPA-backed "independent" candidate in solid Democratic or solid Republican areas. The initial aim is not necessarily to win, but "to scare, shake and dent" the presently existing capitalist political structure in our country, from the White House to City Hall.

During the morning floor discussion at the CIPA conference, Mrs. Sylvia Woods, who has been identified as a member of the Communist party by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, boasted that as a political candidate in 1946 "I stole 10,000 votes from the machine in the election for legislature, even though I lost."

The pervading emotion at the leftists' winter gathering in Chicago was cold hatred. The only warmth in the assembly hall and meeting rooms came from the central heating plant in the vast McCormick Place civic center. The cold hatred was like the white ice in Lake Michigan.

"That's an FBI man over there," said a husky woman to a friend in a hallway. "We goin' to get us two next summer. Just to show it can be done. They can be hurt the same as police."

The key words in the leftists' hatemongering refrain against city, state and federal government were "next summer." It seems that if they have their way, the 1966 Chicago mayoralty campaign won't be a word battle, it will be a fight, perhaps a bloody one, not only against the guardians of law and order and the Democratic administration in Chicago, but also against officials of the federal government in the poverty program and other federal projects.

Co-chairmen of the CIPA conference were Prof. Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago and Dick Gregory, comedian turned civil rights activist who says he will run this year as an "independent" candidate for mayor of Chicago. In his speech to the conference, Mr. Gregory said, "If Watts was wrong, we better go burn all the American history books."

The delegates applauded enthusiastically. Among the CIPA participants was Frank Ditto, who was arrested for loitering last June while leading daily demonstrations against the Chicago schools superintendent. Also taking part was Richard Criley, indentified as a Communist party member by HCUA. A main speaker at the conference was Lawrence Landry, national chairman of the militant civil rights organization ACT, which—according to the Chicago *Tribune*—incited a riot in the Fillmore area of Chicago, August 1965, in which 62 persons were injured.

"There are spies in this room," alleged Dick Gregory from the dais. "FBI spies and police spies and there's another spy I won't identify now, but we'll see about him later." He did not explain the logic of why local and federal police authorities in Chicago would want to plant spies in an open meeting conducted for aboveboard political purposes.

To those of us in the press up front near the dais, it seemed that either Mr. Gregory knew of behind-the-scenes CIPA activities warranting investigation by police authorities, or else he was making flagrantly demagogic and deliberately inflammatory anti-police propaganda.

Though the CIPA group did not at its first organizational gathering adopt a constitution for the proposed new radical leftist political party, it did elect an executive committee of 45 members, among whom there are three HCUA-identified Communists—Fred Fine, Richard Criley and Sylvia Woods.

Other main speakers during the all-day conference were: Irving Birnbaum, a Chicago attorney; Robert Rossin, an official of SDS; Sidney Lens, labor union official and "peace" organizer; Charles Cobb, SNCC field secretary and campaign manager for Julian Bond in Alabama; Monroe Sharp, director of Chicago SNCC; Henry Wineberg, chairman, Chicago Peace Council, and James Bevel, staff director, Chicago SCLC Project.

Under CIPA leadership, 12 other leftist coalition conferences were held in American cities this month. If the others were like that in Chicago, then it is shockingly clear that many leaders of the liberal left have now openly joined forces with the Communists and with known inciters of race riots.

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McNAMARA'S RECORD—*Barron's*, the influential business weekly, has reviewed the record of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and called for his resignation. In a recent front-page editorial, the editors of *Barron's* declared: "The secretary of defense, we submit, has forfeited the credence of friend and foe alike. The best thing he can do for his country is resign. On the record of the past five years, the less-than-candid Pentagon, which has promoted lying to the rank of high public policy, has made many serious mistakes. Despite the liberal use of slide rules and computers, Mr. McNamara and his band of gifted whiz kids, on such life-and-death propositions as the nation's peacetime arsenal and the war in Viet Nam, repeatedly have supplied answers neither straight nor right."

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COSTLY SHADE TREE—Taxpayers will be pleased to learn that the National Capital Parks Commission spent $1,000 for a crape myrtle tree for Washington, D.C., in connection with its beautification program.

Celler's Bill Proposes Industrial Straitjacket

From the Nashville *Banner*

The "Blue Eagle," symbol of Franklin D. Roosevelt's efforts to shackle American business with crippling government controls via federal licensing, in the early days of the New Deal, is hovering over Washington again.

It isn't called an NRA this time (short for National Recovery Act), but the formulative step is there for what could lead to nationalization of all industries, unless blocked at the outset.

Federal planners now want to make government price fixing "legal"—and permanent.

One of the first bills dropped into the hopper as the new Congress convened (H.R. 11870) would make it mandatory for so-called basic industries to file notices of any price increases they might deem necessary with the White House for study and review.

Sponsor of the proposed legislation—Rep. Emanuel Celler—apparently sensing criticism for an attempt at price fixing, was quick to explain that the bill would "provide maximum freedom from direct government interference."

Instead, he said, "it will provide a forum in which private interests and officials charged with government responsibilities can have freedom to act."

The preamble to the bill states that its intent is "to provide a method for private interests to be coordinated with responsibilities of the government in the pricing of goods and services. . . ."

Obviously to make it more palatable, Celler said the supervisory role to be played by government in price-hike disputes "would avoid the necessity of a new federal agency" which would be required in out-and-out price fixing.

Despite this assurance, the Celler bill represents the same old foot-in-the-door techniques used by government planners for more than three decades to extend the tentacles of federal domination. It would be the first permanent legal device by which the White House could exercise control, limited though it might be, over prices.

Hitherto, action by the President to prevent price hikes has been based on threats to mobilize public opinion against industries involved, and, in the case of aluminum, to glut the market from government stockpiles.

Enactment of the Celler bill would arm the President with "legal" authority to continue browbeating industry where none now exists.

In this respect it would strengthen his hand.

As a means of combatting inflation (its advertised primary purpose) the bill is a legislative dud.

High prices, in themselves, are not the *causes* of inflation. Rather, they are the visible manifestation of inflationary pressures exerted by soaring production costs of goods and services.

Mr. Celler should be sawing on this end of the board.

The government interference proposed by H.R. 11870 is contrary to the basic principles of a free economy in which competition serves to hold prices in line.

Competitive free enterprise has been the solid rock on which America built the most dynamic economic system of all time. It has inspired the initiative and sparked the best in human achievement.

Ironically, it is now being threatened by those who should be its staunchest defenders.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Four-Year Term?

By REP. BARBER CONABLE (R.-N.Y.)

I cannot agree with the President's proposal of a four-year term for the House of Representatives. His theory is that we are hampered in our work by having to run for office so frequently. Nobody likes to have to put his record on the line, and everybody hankers for job security, but should this be a valid attitude for congressmen? The American people have the right to change their minds with changing conditions. As the only representative part of our national government, the House of Representatives should not be made less responsive to the wishes of the country at large as long as good candidates are still willing to take risks involved in the two-year term. A four-year term concurrent with that of the President would also mean that congressmen would never run for office except on the coattails of the chief executive. Would this not tend to reduce the independence of Congress? I think it is a good thing that every other election a congressman has to run for office on his own two feet, and not as part of a national ticket.

Quantity vs. Quality

By REP. ROBERT McCLORY (R.-Ill.)

From the standpoint of volume of legislation, this Administration has set an all-time record. In my opinion, the American public is more interested in quality than it is in quantity of the legislative output. The deficiencies in the poverty and other programs are due largely to a lack of preparation and knowledge as to the scope and character, as well as the location, of the problems to be solved. Because of the numerous dislocations and misunderstandings at state and local levels, the President now envisions development of a new relationship among the federal, state and local governments. It is about time that this Administration should recognize the capacity of our communities and states to identify and solve many of their own problems.

Transport Grab

By REP. CHESTER MIZE (R.-Kans.)

After experiencing the gradual shift of power from Congress to the executive, there are many members of Congress, myself included, who are just a bit leery of the President's proposal to create a Cabinet-level Department of Transportation. True, we haven't seen the details yet, but there could be more behind this than just the desire to consolidate some of the independent regulatory agencies under a single Cabinet member for a smoother operation.

This has all of the earmarks of another "power grab"—the giving away of more control by Congress to the executive. Congress has created these quasi-judicial bodies as its own "arms" to handle important details which the Congress has neither the time nor the know-how to handle. With all of these under White House control, including the subsidies which are dispensed in the transportation field, the executive would extend its power further afield and the role of Congress would be eroded even more.

You can be sure that the proposal will be examined closely and I predict that the establishment of the 12th Cabinet post for transportation will be the subject of more of a battle than the 11th one for Housing and Urban Development.

Social Planning Gimmicks

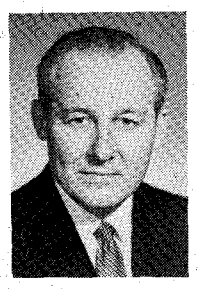
By REP. PAUL FINO (R.-N. Y.)

I am somewhat disturbed at budget priorities. I do not mean just that I want guns instead of butter. I do not. What I don't want to see is badly needed money being wasted on social planning gimmicks. I am not talking of tried and true welfare programs. I am talking about bags of tricks like "rent supplements" and poverty funds that wind up bankrolling black nationalists. There is no room for this sort of thing in a wartime budget, and that is what this is.

The Costly 'T'

By REP. ROBERT MICHEL (R.-Ill.)

Just a single consonant—the letter "T"—is going to cost the American taxpayer at least a billion dollars over the next two years. The trouble began when the Administration planned to set up a separate government Department of Transportation, Housing and Urban Growth. Then somebody pointed out that the new department would have to be known as THUG—Thug for short. Well, that would not do. So then they put it up to the computer and the computer came back with a new title, the Department of Transportation, Housing and Urban Development. More trouble for the Administration. In Washington gobbledygook, that would work out as THUD—Thud for short—and that would suggest another Administration flop. Surgery was called for. Cut off that deadly first letter "T" and you would come up with HUD, so that is the way it is. And that is why we are going to be saddled with an entirely new Department of Transportation, to take care of that extra letter "T." While we are changing names, maybe it would be in order for the Administration to retitle the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Under current directives, this agency ought clearly to be called the Department of Public Health, Education, and Welfare—PHEW—or Phew for what it has become under the Johnson Administration.



LBJ's Tax Increase

By SEN. WALLACE BENNETT (R.-Utah)

The President's tax proposal in his State of the Union message was intended to produce the effect of increased taxes without actually changing the law. In other words, he postponed two promised excise tax reductions. It's hard to measure what the effect of the increased withholding will be, particularly upon churches and educational institutions that depend for part of their support on voluntary contributions. There is a very definite and real tax increase that is the result of the bill passed under great presidential pressure last year—the Medicare bill. Those of us who pay into Social Security suddenly found that we are paying a great deal more.

Part-Time Postmaster

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

A White House source has confirmed that Lawrence F. O'Brien will continue to serve as President Johnson's key legislative aide during the current session of Congress in addition to his duties as postmaster general. This is incredible.

The American people have a right to expect something better than a part-time postmaster general, particularly in view of the serious deterioration in mail service in recent years as well as the huge deficit in the operation of the Post Office Department.

In his State of the Union message the President surprised even Democrats by his decision to launch many new and controversial programs while those initiated last year are still in a state of disrepair, bureaucratic chaos and worse. It is obvious that O'Brien will be a busy man as chief congressional lobbyist for these "Great Society" programs. How then will he find the time necessary to improve the nation's postal service as he has promised? If the President does not consider any of his other numerous White House assistants competent enough to assume O'Brien's lobbying duties, then he should have looked elsewhere for a new postmaster general.

Congress vs. McNamara

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

Our Committee on Armed Services has on several occasions expressed vigorous objection to decisions made by Secretary of Defense McNamara with respect to our national defense. We have resented his circumventing and ignoring the expressed will of the Congress. . . . In the final analysis it is the Congress—not the secretary of defense nor the Joint Chiefs of Staff, not even the President—who is vested with the constitutional right and responsibility of determining the size and kind of a national defense we shall have. We intend to reassert that constitutional prerogative in our determination to have a national defense second to none—one that is well-balanced and fully prepared for every contingency.

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THE PENKOVSKIY PAPERS, by Oleg Penkovskiy (Doubleday, 411 pages, $5.95). From April 1961 until sometime in August 1962, many of the most highly classified secrets of Soviet intelligence were handed over to the West by Oleg Penkovskiy, a GRU colonel whose intimate connections reached to the very top of the Soviet bureaucracy. Wanting to awaken the West, he labored at a frantic pace for over 16 months to funnel some 5,000 separate photographed items of military, political and economic espionage to his British and American contacts.

The consequences of his acts and the range of his information seriously hurt the Soviet world espionage network. How many hundreds of Soviet agents in all parts of the Free World he unmasked, nobody knows, nor how many carefully laid aggressions against us have had to be abandoned.

This book is a series of random commentaries written during the months Penkovskiy aided the West. Several liberal critics have tried to label parts of it fraudulent, but most scholarly evidence does not support them. The range of the book's sobering disclosures makes it the most important, and hence, controversial, Cold War document to emerge in recent years.

MISSION WITH LeMAY, by Curtis E. LeMay with MacKinley Kantor (Doubleday, 581 pages, indexed, $7.95). This is a self-portrait of crusty, controversial Gen. Curtis LeMay, the cigar-chewing, blunt-speaking firebrand who retired in 1965 as Air Force Chief of Staff, following 37 years of service. In a career spanning the development of military aviation, he distinguished himself not only as a combat pilot and leader, but most notably, as the father of the Strategic Air Command. There is no question that he stands by himself as the premier personality of modern military aviation.

His book is no polemic against the civilian chief of the Pentagon, but this timely warning shines through nevertheless: that McNamara's infatuation with missiles as an exclusive deterrent to Communist aggression and his habit of abandoning some bomber program or clubbing down the Joint Chiefs of Staff every time his computer hiccups are measures fraught with hazard.

REBELLION IN RUSSIA's EUROPE, Study prepared for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, (28 pages, indexed, 15 cents—order directly from U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.)

Those who advocate commercial trade with Communist satellite nations of Eastern Europe will invariably use the "independence theory" to convince the gullible that no harm lies in trading with the enemy.

Hal Lehrman, a prize-winning foreign correspondent, has amassed so much evidence of the Kremlin's continued control of its European puppet governments that this short study is certain to get a frigid reception from the Department of State and other supporters of Red trade. (Excerpts from this study appeared in the January 22 issue of **Human Events**.)

Lehrman suggests a moment of contemplation over the perils of a U. S. policy which sanctions trade whenever it detects a faint sign of "mellowing" by these Communist governments, if, as he believes, the "mellowing" is not only "Moscow approved, but even Moscow invented." Is it possible, in other words, that this illusion of an independent Eastern Europe was **manufactured** to deceive American liberals and to influence the trade policies of our State Department?

A Report to Our Readers

Ernest Creech Memorial Fund

Conservatives are often condemned for lacking the virtue of charity, for failing to care for the plight of the less fortunate. Yet conservatives voluntarily aid the underprivileged through many personal welfare programs which go virtually unnoticed by the press.

The December 4 issue of *Human Events* announced the establishment of a memorial fund for the family of Ernest Creech, a Kentucky coal miner who was brutally murdered by a labor union goon squad. The story of Ernest Creech, whose only crime had been his desire to earn an honest living, had appeared in the November 13 issue of *Human Events*.

Our readers responded generously to this appeal and have so far contributed over $2,500 to the Creech family. The money has been transmitted to the National Independent Coal Operators Association, which had orginally established a fund to help the family.

The generosity of those people who supported the "Ernest Creech Memorial Fund" brought the meaning of Christmas and hope for the New Year to Creech's widow and 10 children. In appreciation of the kindness extended to them, the Creech family has sent the following message to our readers:

"Bonnyman, Kentucky
January 3, 1966

"Dear *Human Events* Readers:

"An article in *Human Events* about the death of our father brought response from all over the country. To these people who took the time to write to us and to help us, we wish to offer our sincere thanks.

The Creech Family"

Human Events will continue to accept checks made payable to the Ernest Creech Memorial Fund.

Freedom of Press in Danger

'Washington bureaucrats care not for law or constitutional rights.'

By EUGENE C. PULLIAM

Freedom of the press and freedom of speech in the United States are in greater danger today than they were in the time of Peter Zenger. For today the power of government over the lives and fortunes of the people is greater than at any time in our history, and that power is being used in many different ways to subvert and destroy the freedom of the people to examine the acts of their government, to criticize the policies of their government and to expose the failures of their government.

What do we mean when we talk about freedom of the press? Well, to me freedom of the press means freedom of the public to look behind the curtain of secrecy which governments erect to hide their activities; freedom to read about politicians who want to carry on corrupt and shady deals out of public view; freedom to learn of businessmen whose successes have depended as much on kick-backs and influence-peddling as on their ability to compete in the economic market place; and freedom to criticize labor bosses who employ tactics of coercion and intimidation.

In short, freedom of the press means the freedom of the American public to be informed, to know the precise nature and character of the political and economic forces which control our destinies. . . .

If the press does not shine the spotlight of publicity on malefactors of the public trust, who will? Who but the press can act as the public's watchdog in the nation's interest? Who else is on the firing line day after day, fighting for the right of everyone to have access to the facts? No one except the newspapers has the resources, the time and the manpower.

What I am saying here is that it is the responsibility of newspapers to do for the public what it hasn't the time or the facilities to do for itself—gather information, select that which is important and present it to the reader.

But there are powerful forces aligned against the public. They are working to frustrate the free flow of information. It has been said many times, and newspapermen should never forget it—government is always the tyrant of a people, never its friend. Government is the natural enemy of the newspaper. Government understandably wants to conduct the nation's business—your business and mine—in secrecy.

Government's relationship with the press has changed and deteriorated drastically in recent years. It is no longer enough for administrations to refuse to cooperate with the press. Now they consider it their duty to mislead and deceive us. I could cite you instance after instance where government officials have defended their policy of actually lying to the public.

Another factor working against the unfettered flow of information is the death of strong competitive newspapers.

It is undeniable that each time a legitimate newspaper folds, our nation comes that much closer to surrendering its prerogatives to centralized government. Each time a newspaper writes "30" to its existence one more community watchdog disappears.

So I say to you as newspapermen that our responsibility to the public was never more important. It is quite obvious to me that the bureaucrats in Washington find nothing to worry about when a newspaper folds. With taxation and other forms of government intervention, weak newspapers have found it impossible to survive. Washington bureaucracy apparently wants to see to it that all cities of America become one-newspaper towns.

Washington bureaucrats care not for law or constitutional rights. They strive only to make the federal government all-powerful and all-inclusive over the lives and business of American citizens.

With only one paper in a town, the bureaucrats would have fairly easy sledding in a Congress dominated by a strong chief executive. Newspapers would be brought under government regulation just as radio and television are now regulated by official agencies.

With federal regulation of the press, government officials would be free to intimidate the press with decrees and orders having the effect of law. Bureaucratic regulation and even outright federal take-over of the press is not beyond the range of possibility. It has happened in other countries and we blindly deceive ourselves if we think it cannot happen here. The multitudinous restrictions of individual freedom under which we live today would, 25 years ago, have been unthinkable.

It is easy enough to find scapegoats for the unprecedented conditions and problems facing newspapers today, but it seems to me the blame must be shared by the following:

1. Unions which prevent the introduction of labor-saving and cost-cutting machinery.

2. The continually increased taxation for every conceivable type of social security and welfare.

3. The dogged policy of the anti-trust division which today makes it almost impossible for a newspaper publisher even to speak to a weak competitor, much less help him keep his paper going.

4. The public, which seems often to care more for entertainment than for knowledge and enlightenment.

5. Finally, the newspapers themselves for their aloofness and their resistance to change. . . .

Without the right of freedom for the individual, without the right of free expression for everyone, there can be no lasting or satisfying progress for us in America.

This is the freedom we must cherish, this is the freedom we must fight for, this is the freedom—if necessary—we must go to jail to preserve. We must cherish it and hold it the dearest thing in life, because if America maintains its freedom, then sometime, somehow, America being free will show the rest of the world the road to freedom.

This I believe, my friends, is the divine mission of America—freedom for ourselves and eventually freedom for all the world.

This article is excerpted from an address Mr. Pulliam delivered at the University of Arizona, January 8, after receiving the John Peter Zenger Award "for distinguished service in freedom of the press and the people's right to know." Mr. Pulliam is the publisher of the Arizona Republic, *the Phoenix* Gazette, *the Indianapolis* News, *the Indianapolis* Star *and several other newspapers.*

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